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Sir T. Wyse. A. Severn.

VALLEY OF THE NEDA,
ARCADIA.

AN EXCURSION IN

THE PELOPONNESUS

IN THE YEAR 1858.

BY THE LATE

RIGHT HON. SIR THOMAS WYSE, K.C.B.

H.M.'S ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY

AT ATHENS, FROM 1849 TO 1862.

EDITED BY HIS NIECE,

WINIFREDE M. WYSE.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.

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ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 48, line 14, *for* "Mycon" *read* "Myron."

„ 84, „ 27, *for* "Οχυ *read* 'Οχὶ.

„ 88, „ 30, *for* "Winkleman" *read* "Winkelman."

„ 91, „ 35, *for* "Deigilaos" *read* "Dexilaos."

„ 101, „ 18, *for ἀνταγονίστων read ἀνταγωνίστων.*

„ 112, „ 10, *for* "on the apex. He," *read* "on the apex he."

„ 119, „ 23, *for ἐπιγούνατο read ἐπὶ γούνασι.*

„ 123, „ 8, *for ἄκρας read ἄκραι.*

„ 135, „ 22, *for* "Keranius" *read* "Keraunius."

„ 139, „ 8, *dele* "of."

„ 141, „ 8, *for* "Paneygris" *read* "Panegyris."

„ 164, „ 4, *for ψόρος read ψόφος.*

„ 184, „ 21, *for διέπισει read διέπαιζεν.*

„ 238, „ 1, *for* "Agioyate" *read* "Agoyiate."

„ 246, „ 7, *for* "in" *read* "on."

„ 253, „ 17, *for* "spherolates" *read* "sphyrelate."

„ 254, „ 30, *for* 'Ελλήων *read* 'Ελλήνων.

„ 256, „ 16, *for ὅσα read ὅσα.*

„ 258 „ 32, *for ἰλικίαν read ἡλικίαν.*

„ 317 „ 26, *for* "beautiful" *read* "healthful."

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AN

EXCURSION IN THE PELOPONNESUS.

CHAPTER I.

EIRA.—PHIGALEIA.—BASSÆ.

MAY 18.—Half-past four a.m. found all our party on foot. Whilst the baggage was packing, I strolled about the village and examined its position as to plain and mountain. Bogas is one of the many small hamlets scattered along their skirts, and which complete the resemblance to the inundated plains of Egypt, particularly the Delta. Many of the old names have sunk into oblivion, and those which remain in ancient writers are not easily identified with modern sites; but it may also be taken for granted that the present are the successors of the old population, induced to the choice of residence by physical, and subsequently by social causes. The inundation was followed by the miasma, and the miasma interchanged with plunder and war. From almost all these points—slightly elevated as some of them are—Ithome, the Akropolis of the whole land, may be seen. It was to the Messenians what the Akrokorinthos was to the Isthmus, and the Parthenon-crowned Akropolis to Athens.

On the other side, east, the mountain rampart-

wall comes sheer down upon the plain, but with far less imposing grandeur (albeit on the same topographical plan) than the great bulwark of Taygetus. This aspect, as seen at Bogas, though more precipitous than at other points, may stand as a type of the general configuration. The very name derives from its deep gorge — Bogasi signifying ravine in Turkish—which is striking as the counterpart of the gorge immediately behind Mistra.

Starting from Bogas at a quarter after seven, and taking the road to the north, we soon entered the mountain-range which bounds the valley of the Neda — more torrent than river at this part of its course. As we ascended, the upper plain spread out more widely below us at each step, showing very distinctly the relations of Ithome to the whole of the great Stenyklarian basin, and of that, again, to the Lakonian mountain boundary. The minor divisions, too, the ridge dividing upper from lower Messenia, and that which separates the valleys of the Leukasia and Electra, become very clear.

Passing the village of Dimandra at nine, we soon after crossed the topmost point of the pass, and descended by highly-wooded but sharp declivities into the ravine of the Neda. In half an hour, we found ourselves on a platform commanding a noble view of the subjacent torrent with its sparkling waters and many diversified windings. Further on, a short rest could not be resisted, close to its banks, under fine spreading plane-trees and beside a small fountain. The scene was most picturesque, and to us very refreshing, after what now seemed a long acquaintance with the plain, and we

unwillingly continued our route. It led through a complicated labyrinth of ascents and descents, over a broken and precipitous bridle-path, which was frequently entangled by the crossing roots and branches of the forest timber, and at one moment followed the edge of the torrent, rising at another high above its banks. The base of a conical hill was at length reached, said, by Dimitri, to stand right above the village of Kakaletri. Extensive remains of wall and fortification crowned the height, the present object of our interest.

We soon set about climbing the northern side, which was steep enough, though not rugged, and came at the summit to a fragment of wall, a portion of the line which probably ran along the brow. It is of irregular construction, though not strictly Cyclopic, both in size and courses. Other similar fragments were to be seen in the same direction. Many of the stones, especially at the basement, left for the most part rough or very coarsely finished, are of great size, measuring not less than fifteen to eighteen feet. On this side, we perceived no towers. Crossing the fragment of wall just mentioned, we reached an oblong platform, at the highest point of the hill, strewn with ruins and pottery. Here was the *Φρούριον*, or Akropolis. On the south and west the hill is still steeper than on the north, but it declines gently to the east. The walls on these three sides are easily traceable: on the south and east they are in better preservation, and in considerable masses, particularly at the two angles south-east and south-west. At the latter are considerable remains of a tower. A small portal opened externally from

the tower on to the ravine. To the south-east the wall, though lower, is of good height. The masonry at this point is much more regular than what we had noticed in ascending. The greater part lies in well-shaped, even courses, the blocks not differing very much in size, but without concert.

Internally there were also traces of buildings, but nothing which could indicate a temple or civil structure. The general aspect from below, towards the south, was that of a citadel or fortress, on the ordinary Greek plan and construction, and of various dates, capping a very steep isolated cone, in the midst of mountain and river surrounding it on all sides, like Phyle, Eleutheræ, and many others in various parts of Greece. The peak of Tetrazi is seen to the south-east, and opposite rises the range of Cotylion, from which this fortress-height is divided by the bed of the Neda traceable a considerable way down the valley. The view of the Neda's windings through the woody foldings of the gorge, and the lofty stretching mountains beyond, is singularly fine. The natural characteristics of this spot, its seclusion, its difficulty of approach, its situation in reference both to Messenia and Arkadia, — a point of peculiar importance in ancient times—all go to justify the decision which identifies it with the fatal fortress of Eira. The imagination, it must be admitted, pleads not less warmly in the cause. A more fitting scene could not be devised for the enactment of that final drama. The desperate death-encounter, the stubborn defence, the unmerited fall, the inexorable enemy, the Nemesis and the Moira, the Dike and Ate, crowd upon us, and we sympathize with Pausanias

in all his Messenian predilections, in the description of the expiring effort—the *ultima vestigia* of a brave and unfortunate people. The curtain here drops over their fortunes for a long period. The annexation is completed, another Dorian autonomy is audaciously absorbed, and we have to wait until the exiled people, after a three hundred years' absence at Naupactus, shall be restored to their inheritance, on the death of the usurper, by a stranger's hand.

There are few passages in history more striking than the dramatic narrative of this last struggle in Pausanias. The consultation of the Oracle—the fatal answer,—

> Εὖτε τράγος πίνῃσι Νέδης ἑλικόῤῥοον ὕδωρ,
> Οὐκ ἔτι Μεσσήνην ῥύομαι· σχεδόθεν γὰρ ὄλεθρος· *

the interpretation, the burial or hiding of the κρύψειν of Lykos on Mount Ithome; the realization of the prophecy soon after by the intervention of the singular incident of Emperamos and his herdsman; the brave resistance of women as well as men; the electrical accompaniments of thunderstorm and rain; the obstinate defence for three days and nights; and the final withdrawal rather than flight, after a siege of eleven years, of the last relics of a wronged, yet not humiliated or servile people, all follow each other like the events of a mediæval romance, but with the epic dignity of all the earlier achievements of Hellenic history.† Nor are gentler traits wanting, to invest Aristomenes with the charms of the domestic feeling of Hector, combined with the loftier heroism of

* Paus. *Mess.* c. xx. † *Ib.* c. xx. xxi.

Achilles, and a patriotism more local and intense than any hero, mythic or historic, of Greece. And amid the tumult uprises the prophetic form of the soothsayer Theoklos, prescient of his own death, pointing out to Aristomenes, along with his new duties, the future fate of his country, then rushing into the ranks of the enemy and perishing. It is nobler than any similar scene, even in the pages of Homer. The conclusion is worthy of the other portions of the drama; more sublime, and as heroic as the passage in our times from another Eira, of the last remnant of the garrison of Mesolonghi: the little band of Aristomenes follow his lance, and the Lacedæmonians, directed by their soothsayer Hebraldos, draw back and allow them passage through.* It is a matter of no surprise that the neighbouring and friendly Arkadians, filled with reverence and admiration, should have given them an asylum on Mount Lykæon, and subsequently in their towns and villages, not only sharing with them their bread and clothing, and sending their highest official personages to receive them, but afterwards dividing with them their land.

The heroic life of Aristomenes was not, however, yet closed. The very next incident is a characteristic trait of that vitality and elasticity, which did not abandon him to the end. He proceeds at once to renew the battle, and boldly projects an invasion, not only of the Lakonian territory, but of Sparta itself; not an idle resolution, but with every prospect of success, had it not been betrayed in time by the envy or servility

* Paus. *Mess.* c. xxi.

of the Arkadian Aristokrates,—some old enemy, who at length, from the indignation of the Arkadians, meets his just reward.* The whole of these events, from their variety and abnormal character, scarcely appear to belong to ancient history. They contain elements of romance, adventure, and individuality,—a sort of Cid patriotism and miraculous success,—a free-band Great Company, or kleptic recklessness, and an Hellenic mythic dignity and solemnity, not elsewhere combined. To find them in the pages of Pausanias would be a surprise, had he not drawn them from Rhianos; but it is scarcely less difficult to comprehend, where Rhianos found traditions of a character so little recognisable in the general pages of Greek renown.

Leake places Eira much lower down the Neda, grounding his theory on the greater facility that situation afforded for provisioning, as well as its immediate contiguity to the plain of Messenia. But, unless close to the mouth of the river, the whole land in that part belonged, not to Messenia, but to Arkadia.

The present site of Eira was discovered by the French,† and it fully corresponds to the description of the poet and the traveller. It lies enveloped in the midst of the "foldings of the white or snowy mountains,"—

Οὔρεος ἀργεννοῖο περιπτύχας,

as Rhianos describes it in the poetic Doric-Æolic phrase,—ἀργεννοιος for ἄργος,—though in Homer this applies not to snow but to sheep. Eira is unconnected with any cultivable land, as its present name

* Paus. *Mess.* c. xxii. † P. Boblaye, p. 110.

Kakaletri testifies — a combination of κακὸν and ἀλέτρι (a kind of diminutive for ἄροτρον), or "bad for ploughing." Surrounded, however, by high declivities, fitted only for sheep, olives, and fruit-trees, it was a place where the population and flocks of the neighbouring plains might be easily collected, as became the case eventually in the second Messenian war, much in the manner they had been gathered from their villages into Ithome during the first war. Nor was the fortress inadequate for this purpose. The slope towards the east, coming down from Tetrazi and its range, a mountain itself 4,300 feet high, a long sweep of elevated land, bounded by two torrents, on which a large population could be disposed of, this projecting neck of rock, too, terminating in a citadel, afforded sufficient protection, and answered as a place of refuge whither the people could fly from any sudden irruption of the enemy. With few exceptions, this is the arrangement of most town fortresses in Greece, as at Orchomenos and Thespia. Some of these were subdivided again into upper and lower, by cross walls, as at Platæa.

The proximity to Arkadia was not less a primary condition in the choice of Eira, giving an additional facility for aid and shelter. The Messenians who escaped from its final capture, took refuge in the difficult fastnesses and valleys of that rude and mountainous region, and in that portion especially where they might still hover about the Lakonian territory. This advantageous position was used by them with signal success. In scattered bands, they devastated their own territory of Messenia and that of Lakonia simultaneously, Aristomenes keeping

around him a chosen party of three hundred. They carried on this system with such result, in rich plunder of corn, cattle, and wine, besides moveables and slaves, that the Lacedæmonians, laying it down as a maxim, "that they were cultivating the land rather for those who were in Eira than for themselves," left that portion of Messenia contiguous to Lakonia unsown, so long as they continued the war.* A scarcity of corn ensued, and a sedition; "for those who had property in that quarter could not endure that it should remain idle;"—a sedition which Pausanias asserts was appeased by the verses of Tyrtæus. The irruptions from this point were easy and continuous. In one night before sunrise Aristomenes reached from Eira the town of Amyklæ, which is farther south than Sparta, without observation. This would have been impracticable from the site fixed on by Leake, both from its greater distance and the difficulty of escaping notice in traversing the plain. In the subsequent part of the war, Aristomenes finds this plain infested with Cretan archers (mercenaries), and, relying on the truce, and regardless of danger, he is faithlessly taken prisoner by seven of them.†

The situation of Eira‡ is contrasted by Pausanias with that of Andania.§ It does not appear, at the time of the second Messenian war, to have had

* Paus. *Mess.* c. xviii.

† *Ib.* c. xix.

‡ Written Ira by Suidas and later writers, affording new evidence of the same sound being given to the diphthong and to the letter *i*.

§ Καὶ Ἀνδανίαν μὲν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πόλισμα ἔπεισε τὰ πολλὰ ἐκλείπειν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Εἶραν τὸ ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι.—(Paus. *Mess.* c. xvii.)

walls; it is still ὄρος, and not φρούριον. The passage, however, into Lakonia and across Messenia to Ithome, never seems to have been impeded, even in spite of the Cretan archers. The Neda flowing below, is the appropriate scene of the solution of the oracle. The prophet Theoklos leads Aristomenes from Eira to its banks, and shows him the fatal τράγος, "the fig-tree drinking of the waters of the Neda," — Εὖτε τράγος πίνῃσι Νέδης ἑλικόῤῥοον ὕδωρ.* The place still bears many wild fig-trees dipping their leaves in its waters.† The space between the citadel and the river was occupied, though not unreservedly, by the fugitive Messenians, who had already built houses, as they had fortified the summits. Some pasturage could be found along the edges of the stream, and this the herdsman of Emperamos had taken possession of for his master's flocks. Here it was that he met the woman coming down from those houses to the Neda, as we saw some from Kakaletri this day, and where he formed the acquaintance which led to the final fall of the citadel. Her husband used to go up to the fortress on guard, and his absence afforded opportunities to the herdsman. A storm of rain drove the guards from their posts, and this man, returning unexpectedly to his house below, narrated the cause to his wife. Overheard by the herdsman, the facts were at once conveyed to

* Paus. *Mess.* c. xx.

† The common Messenians understood the oracle to mean that their destruction would be at hand when a "goat should drink the waters of the Neda;" but Theoklos interpreted τράγος as a "fig-tree," — a meaning which the word also bore amongst the Messenians.

Sparta. An additional force was despatched to the siege; the opportunity of a similar wet night was seized, the akropolis attacked in its weakest point, and the last spot remaining to the Messenians, after an obstinate defence, carried by the Lacedæmonians. The assault began on the side sloping towards the Neda, but was not confined to it: for the Lacedæmonians, finding the ground too broken and precipitous to allow them to use their columns, attacked the akropolis, probably also on the south and west.

The fortress, however, was apparently yet unfinished. On the first arrival of the Messenians, the upper part of the hill had been enclosed with walls and gates: but even in this year, the eleventh of the siege, the works were not completed. They were obliged to retreat, as we have seen, on stormy nights, for want of shelter, want of towers, covered passages, or other protection—*τὸ οὔτε ἐπάλξεων ἐσῳκοδομημένων οὔτε πύργων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῦ τειχισμοῦ*,* supplying a distinct evidence of the original state of the position. Outside the fortress were the habitations of the poorer women and children, who took refuge above in times of danger. Towards the south, the rock sinks to a lower level, and in this position towers, as we have seen, are traceable —a sign in itself of its having been used as a place of defence in later years. The fragment of wall towards the north and the Neda, seems a portion of the old and hasty walling of Aristomenes; but the lines running south and west cannot date higher than the building of Messene, if not later. They display the same principles of construction,

* Paus. *Mess.* c. xx.

and are very regular, though smaller and feebler.* This is not matter of surprise. We find many of these early fortresses retained, with more or less change, down to the period of the Romans—as for instance Andania, Pheræ, and others.

The Messenians, however, were evidently not confined to the site of Eira at the moment of its capture. The Lacedæmonians afterwards carried off those whom they found in that district, and distributed them amongst the Helots; unless we are to understand the word περὶ,† as used by Pausanias, in the restricted sense of the dwellings immediately encircling the fortress. Fragments of pottery still abound in the neighbourhood, so usual in such ancient sites, and furnishing another evidence of habitation. Pausanias states, that, at the last fatal attack, the women tried to use the tiles for weapons of defence, but the rain prevented them from even climbing to the roofs.‡ Tiles appear at all times to have been favourite weapons, as substitutes for stones: the latter are mentioned by Xenophon, at the siege of Haliartus and the Peiræus.§ The loose manner in which tiles are laid rather than fastened on the roofs, even to the present day, make them readily available for the purposes of defence.

While busily engaged in examining the topography and ruins, a thunderstorm, which had been threatening all the morning, began to break over us, accompanied with heavy drops, preluding torrents of rain. It formed a lively realization of the scenes that had signalized the last defence of Messenia in

* Ross believes this portion to have been built in time of Epaminondas. (See *Reisen durch Griechenland*, i. v. p. 97.)

† Paus. *Mess.* c. xxiii. ‡ *Ib.* c. xxi. § *Hell.* l. iii. 20.

the same place, and compelled us to retreat rapidly to the village of Kakaletri immediately beneath.

We stayed here some while in a small hut watching the flashes through the roof, which let in the pouring rain. The clouds, however, dispersing, and the brief repast that filled up the interval being finished, we were again on horseback, and proceeding through the scattered hamlet, which consisted of houses stuck amid weedy gardens, without street and often without communication. Descending by craggy and slippy windings, we crossed the still shallow stream of the Neda, and mounting the opposite side of the bank, set our faces to the west, on the road towards Paulitza, the next point near Bassæ which could afford us a night's lodging. The site, rather than the pillars of the Temple, had been discernible from the summit of Eira: but there was no appearance, in the mountainous and wooded country, of village or habitation for miles around.

From the opposite and northern bank we now had a fine view of Tetrazi, and below it a more characteristic outline than any yet seen of Eira. The command this fortress possessed of the neighbouring district, is very conspicuous. As we advanced, the road became more rugged over the spurs and offshootings of Lykæon on one side and of Elaion on the other, the Neda meandering on through the folds of both, amidst umbrageous woods, towards the sea. We had constantly to descend and ascend over a mere track of sharp rocks, which were becoming more dislocated and doubtful at each step, and sometimes offering as road only the questionable bed of a mountain torrent, half blocked up with the rough blocks borne down it in winter. These

obstacles were further increased by the thick brushwood—the λάσιον χώριον of Xenophon—sometimes so entangled that we had to send on Dimitri with a detachment, knife and stick in hand, to pioneer our way through. But the climax was not yet reached. The storm, which had only momentarily been interrupted, began anew. The clouds came drifting back from Mount Tetrazi, with threatening growls of thunder. Rain now followed in gusts, with lightning. We raised our umbrellas against wind and wet; but they got entangled every moment in the shrubbery, now grown into a wood, the trees stopping our way as they bridged over the narrow path with their rugged branches. There was danger that, in some unlucky turn (for our horses took no heed of our difficulties), we might have been hoisted from our seats, and, like knights of old, left flat or worse upon the roadside. Then the rocks had become slippery, and in some of the half-perpendicular passes, were more perilous than a *montagne Russe*: our only remedy was to dismount, and let our horses pursue their own wild way, through the serpentine complications of the road. Somehow or other, what with the example of others, their own mountain instincts, the shrill guiding cries and rebukes of their masters, and few or no aberrations into thickets, they extricated themselves very creditably from their embarrassments. We did not fare quite so well. The rain had soaked the soil, and thoroughly wetted the matted trees; so that, between both, we found ourselves, after a time, in a not much better state than either. To add to our discomforts, the saddles encountered a worse trial,

without protection till too late, through Dimitri's want of foresight, though it is hard to say what could have protected them, amidst rain and dripping wood, or how they escaped being carried off, shred and scrap, in the scramble. Then came dismal forebodings of baggage, damp and sodden. That portion of our establishment had preceded us, and the prospect of being obliged to hold vigil as we could in a tumble-down hut, before a fire of wet wood, till morning, seized the imaginations of the ladies. Nor was there the least hope of relief: no village, no house, no hovel between this and Paulitza, and Paulitza as yet appeared nowhere. It was still some hours off, in the finest weather,—in wet, even Dimitri, our best timekeeper, could not tell how many it might take us to reach it: his only cold comfort being, that, through the mist, at an interminable distance, on the flank of a bare mountain, two or three ravines between, lay something which they thought might be—Paulitza. The day, too, had reached that point when no hope could be held out of its altering for the better. It seemed obstinately set in for an evening, perhaps for a night, of solid mountain rain, and the night itself appeared to be fast approaching. To complete our misery, the Agoyiates grew serious, dropped their songs, and at last lost their way. It was only marvellous they had not done so sooner. Away they went, wildly experimentalizing in byway and highway, when every minute was precious and miserable. After a long stretch, we arrived at a huge pile of rocks immediately over the Neda, which, taking account of the road and time consumed in getting

over it, we concluded to be the approach to Paulitza; but Paulitza was two hours further on. It required a heroism inconceivable to railway travellers to support the announcement. Having dismounted to allow the horses to slide at their ease down these precipices, now, with baffled hopes, we had, in despair, to mount them again. Setting our heads doggedly to windward, we once more defied the elements. Again came rain, thunder, and lightning, magnificent battling of the clouds on the mountains, and flights of curling mists and vapours down the valleys, — drifts of rain, with gilded flashes through the gorges; whilst, of the distant harsh grating and groaning of torrents in the cleft,

Πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντα τε, δόχμιά τ', ἦλθον·

except as in a dream-landscape, we could take no count. At length, the storm abating, or blowing at intervals only,—a long glimmer of light shone to the west. Mountains passed out of their darkness and took shape; the Agoyiates started a pathetic song, then a kleptic one; all began talking at once, as if they had got through some achievement, and the oldest of the party came up and pointed out, on a promontory opposite, the long-desired Paulitza: yet, though apparently within our grasp, we did not reach it for full an hour after. A vexatious valley intervened, and we had ample time to ruminate on the counterparts and balances of Hellenic travelling,—when Zeus Onchios has not been propitiated, which certainly must have been the case this morning.

Nor was there greater reason to congratulate ourselves, on our arrival. After passing through a

rugged ravine, amongst rambling torrent-beds rather than footways,—streets of course there were none, — our horses' heads were turned aside into what was announced as the best habitation of the village. It stood among old olive-roots and broken walls, —where a scowling group of men and women, in spite of Leonidas, our gendarme, kept staring at us with evident suspicion as intruders. Drenched with wet, no alternative was left, but, sighing for the luxury of Bogas, to resign ourselves to the hovel before us. In the midst of our annoyance, Dimitri declared that Their Majesties had more than once passed a night in the same dwelling. I cannot say that we needed such inducement to accept its hospitality: but it furnished a striking proof of the unprovided state of the interior part of the country, that the Sovereign could find no fitter resting-place. Had I been an ordinary traveller, I might have discredited such a statement: but I had every reason to believe in its truth. On nearer approach, the hut was even more forbidding. A door and a few loopholes gave it light, and it was hardly protected from the rain by the wretched roof, through which the smoke pierced with still less difficulty. The roof was composed of branches of trees, covered with loose flat stones in true primeval Arkadian fashion. Here, nevertheless, we passed—thanks, perhaps, to the cold—a tolerable night. Our baggage, arriving early, had fortunately escaped the rain, and thus, with a blazing fire and a dinner speedily prepared and eaten, we forgot the labours of the day. The servants and Agoyiates were quartered in other huts. Leonidas had taken care to see all super-

fluous furniture removed from our abode, and Dimitri distinguished himself as an architect in erecting and arranging rooms for our respective quarters. Thus all were early asleep, despite cries of every sort from natives, Agoyiates, servants, dogs, sheep, and asses around us.

May 19. — The morning dawned gloomily, but without actual rain. There was evidently a truce in the elements, though no one could say when it would terminate. Our Arkadians knew nothing, and would prophesy nothing, about the weather. "How should they know?"—"Was it not all in the hands of God?" — a wise and unhellenic maxim, which their forefathers would not have propounded. Perhaps, had we asked them whether it would prove a propitious day for travelling, after the manner of Hesiod, they might have been communicative. A remarkable group had meantime collected before our hovel door, from the far bounds of the village. Costume, features, size, colour, and manners, differed considerably from what we had yet seen. Both men and women were very fair and athletic, — a robust, untamed, mountain race—light, but firm-limbed, and well put together. The men wore the fustinella no longer as a petticoat, but in the true and original style, as a portion only of the tunic, girt by shawl or belt round the loins; whilst a light turban still wreathing round the fez, a shepherd's crook or herdsman's goad in the hand,—colour and form in good and simple taste,—completed the picture. They spoke little, looking sad and overworked; and when they did open their mouths, their words and accents were as rough as their mountains and torrents. These may be the

débris of the old Hellenic, perhaps Pelasgic, perhaps autochthonic race; more probably, however, the new material of Slave and other invaders predominates, moulded into a strong resemblance to their predecessors by the rigid pressure of climate or the free life, with its concomitant severities and hardihood, inseparable from mountain and forest. They walked firmly and held their heads erect without once asking for charity, maintaining throughout a sort of sullen medium between civility and discourtesy.*

Taking advantage of a gleam of sunshine, I sallied out quickly to the mountain immediately above, towards the west—the site of Phigaleia. Leaving the village to the east, after passing through some lanes, the ruins of a small church were reached, where Leake mentions finding columns and the remains of a stand for a tazza. Turning then to the right, I ascended the hill where used to stand the ancient city: this was further topped by another hill, north. Traces of walls can be detected, sufficient to define the general outline. After walking awhile over rather difficult ground, and looking fruitlessly for any sign of building or temple, my guide pointed to a late excavation, showing remains of an ancient tomb, described by him as *τάφος τῆς* Βασιλοπούλης,

* The inhabitants of this district are always spoken of as wild and rough, yet brigandage has never prevailed there, as in the mountainous parts of northern Greece. The entire of this western portion of the Peloponnesus, however, fell into a deplorable state of anarchy, especially in this neighbourhood of Kyparissia, during the interval between the expulsion of King Otho and the arrival of King George. Order has now been re-established.—Ed.

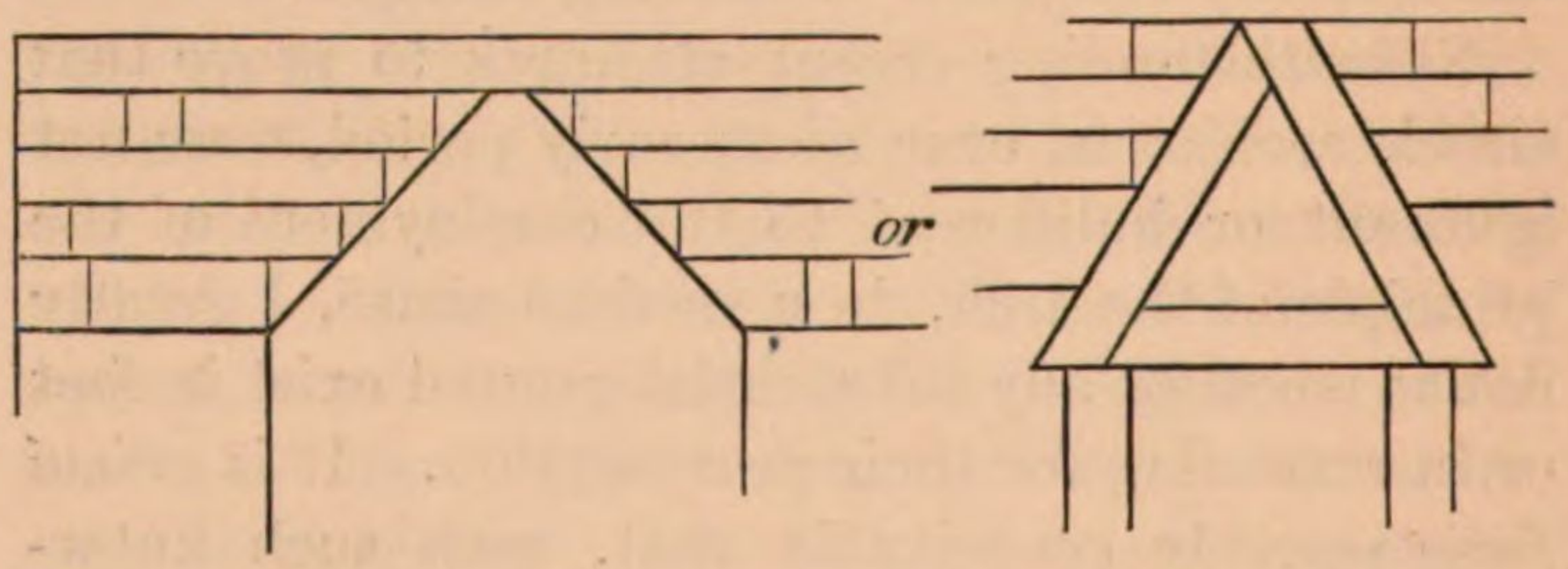
the "tomb of the princess": but he could give no account whatever of the lady, the sepulchre, or the operation which brought about its discovery. Walls, and some fragments on either side, marked its purpose. From this point there was a fine view, as far as the still troubled clouds would allow me to trace it. Deep clefts run to the south and east; the mountain rises to the north, and to the east; whilst the bold interchange of the two lines of mountain, divided by the Neda and bounded by the sea and mouth of the river near Mount Kutra, with the southern termination of the island of Zante stretching along the horizon, makes a noble landscape.

Joined here by my companions, we continued on towards the north-east, and soon reached one of the best-maintained portions of the city wall, immediately overhanging the modern village of Paulitza. It runs along the edge of the declivity, not very precipitous in this direction, the torrent flowing some distance below. The masonry is for a considerable way well preserved, and in some places twenty feet high. Its construction is of the third order of cyclopic, much resembling the fragment to the north of Eira, both in form of block, of courses, and construction. Towers seem to have projected at intervals, though not very regularly arranged, nor very uniform in character. Between them, and also at various distances, are entrances already noticed by travellers. One gate—if so it can be called—is remarkable: the masonry is on a peculiar principle,—an approach to the arch, or its substitute, and in traditional use from the earliest period in Greece and its colonies. It is seen here in its

rudest state, without any attempt to reduce it to a resemblance, even outwardly, with the curved shapes which it takes even in earlier applications, being little more than stone laid upon stone. At Assos the same principle was used in equal simplicity and greater variety, but with less rudeness. In the Treasuries, it receives its fullest expansion and improvement. It advances by an experiment, easy, but not at once adopted, from a series of angles to the curve. The same may be said of similar early efforts in other architecture. It were as great a mistake to confound these, either with a scientific or æsthetic appreciation of what we understand by the arch principle, as to include in that category the gate of Tiryns or that seen in the Pyramids. All instances produced to the contrary appear to rest on too distant and accessory analogies, or on the hastily assumed determination of the authenticity or epochs of existing remains.

Notwithstanding recent attempts to prove that Greek architects, even at an early period, were not ignorant or indifferent to the employment of the principle of the arch, in a modern sense, I greatly doubt whether any substantial ground exist in fact or in reasoning for their presumption. It is *primâ facie* scarcely conceivable that, with such knowledge, they should not have applied it; nor is the æsthetical indifference or dislike sufficient, even if admitted, to account for so practical an error or neglect. Greek tradition or sentiment may have led to a preference for the horizontal, and from the horizontally-extended to the vertical or curved, in works of pure art: but, with a people as scientific as they were artistic, this could not have been

unapplied to purposes of mere utility. In a country of abrupt torrents, high bridges were a sort of necessity, recognized even by Turkish slowness, to judge by the remains in that way which that rule has left behind in Greece, not to speak of the many demands for covert ways, hypogæa, and canals, presenting themselves in the course of every-day Greek life, no matter how ordinary. That there was no aversion, as is assumed, to the *curve*, is pretty clear from the forms still conspicuous in this class of construction. It is equally so with respect to the *circular*, as may be deduced from a whole series of circular or monopteral buildings, such as the Tholos at Sparta, Athens, Epidaurus, the Odeion of Perikles at Athens, the Gate at Messene, and the Skias,—a kind of tholos or umbrella-shaped structure, not unlike the wooden erections set up for panoramas at German baths and villas.*



In managing the roofs of all these erections, architects not only never employed our arch, but they subjected themselves to much inconvenience, especially in the buildings above-ground, where, from its absence, there was some difficulty in

* Σκίας, *σκιάδιον*, is still the modern as well as the ancient name for umbrella.

arranging the resisting power. In all these cases, the principle adopted was either superposition or angular juncture. The latter is seen first in Egypt and Tiryns, but applied, as far as we can judge, in the Odeion of Perikles, substituting wood for stone; superposition is seen in the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, and in the similar hypogæa at Sparta, in their more artificial form, their more simple again in the gates or doors of Phigaleia, one of the rudest examples of the kind: a more perfect description, as already stated, exists in the gates at Assos. The advantage of angular juncture consisted in its pressure being always vertical; and, if the surmounting or uppermost stone were of sufficient length, it could be made of any strength required, equal, in fact, to the ordinary arch, without demanding expenditure of time or labour necessary to sustain a lateral thrust by abutments. In cases of bridges, especially of rivers with high banks, and, above all, when of rock, the difficulty is not hard to meet: but, when isolated buildings come into question, the obstacles are considerable, augmenting too, in proportion to the flatness of the roof. Hence, the expedient of external buttresses,—a certain deformity entailed by an imaginary beauty. The awkwardness of this expedient increases, as the roof or cupola is presumed to gain in lightness and delicacy. The Minerva Medica of Rome offers the first seed of this vice, which we see carried out to such complete ugliness in St. Sophia. The curve is easily formed, by cutting off the projecting angles: but I do not remember noticing the much easier application to a simple door. The Odeion of Perikles is an instance of the Tirynthian

and Egyptian principle, from the mere circumstance of its being of wood: when of stone, except in very small buildings, the case is altered. A combination of the two methods was then adopted. The superposition of stone on stone, laterally or at an angle, more or less, with the walls of the building, had to be substituted, and so joined together that they might be taken for one continued mass, not less than the poles or Persian masts in the case of the Perikleian Odeion. So were constructed the roofs of the Lysicratian monument and the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, and, perhaps, if covered, that of the gate of Messene. In these instances there was considerable side-pressure, but it seems to have been provided for only by the strength of the entablature. There is no attempt in any of these buildings, even to give the semblance of the arch; though, in immediate juxta-position with the Andronicus Cyrrhestes monument, arches, pierced through or cut from solid masses, are observable —not employed, however, in practical application, but seizing merely the appearance from æsthetical preference.*

* An arch connected with Cyclopic masonry is seen near Kalogero, between Nauplia and Lessa, in the Argolis, at a stream called *Καλόγερο ῥεῦμα*. The height is nine feet, and it stands on a sort of ledge. M. von Felzen, the late learned Prussian Secretary of Legation at Athens, showed me the drawing. The arch itself does not seem old, and the Cyclopic work appears more ancient. It consists of large polygonal blocks joined above in the Tirynthian style by one block leaning against the other, and a long stone filling up the space above, horizontally, as in the Treasury of Atreus. The arch seems to have been put in later, by way of decoration, to smarten up the exterior, though in itself it is rude enough; very different from the Etruscan arches as seen at Ferentino, Ponte della Badia, and another smaller place near, in Italy.

On concluding the examination of this line of wall, there was nothing very remarkable to draw us to the top of the mountain. The enclosure is much broader and rounder than the Akropolis of Orchomenos, Corinth, Athens, or Argos. Returning towards the village, we met some of our party who were already out to join us, in the ravine below. The day being advanced,—already ten o'clock — we set out at once by a winding road round the sides of Mount Cotylion to the Temple of Bassæ, or Phigaleia. It became every moment more beautiful. Leaving the barrenness of the immediate neighbourhood of Paulitza, we in a short time found ourselves amongst the brush-wood bye-paths of the preceding day. The road, however, soon turned off over hill and dale into plantations of loftier growth, varied with occasional masses of timber, of all variety of hue and form, from lentisk, prinari, and tamarisk, up to ilex, valonea oak, olive and plane-tree: light streams leaped down precipices and crossed the road, and mighty mountains opened upon us in blue dusky gleams athwart the openings of the wood. Sometimes we came to small secluded valleys, green with fresh corn, or reserved for the feeding of a few quiet sheep. No houses were visible; but shepherds occasionally appeared, perched along with their goats upon some huge blocks over-head, showing how easily Arkadia of old, with a similar simple population, had protected herself against every incursion. Painters need not here recur to ancient types for authority. The tradition is existing, and the man and costume still live. Not one of these groups, translated to stone, with an antique

feeling to work out the figure, but what might pass for an antique. Here, there rose up a figure, which might stand for a Paris or an Apollo in exile, resting with crossed foot, and leaning on his crook, clad in the same tunic, sandal, and pileus, or Phrygian cap;—there, a grave old Admetus, barbed to the knee, ruminating amidst his flocks and herds, and, to judge by his seriousness, not satisfied with his shepherds:—and farther down, a long pointed line, guiding or driving the slow, white, sleepy oxen, with a man behind, completes, in regular orthodox outline and colour, a bas-relief of the purest style. These, and many other such glimpses of antiquity, we enjoyed at every turn: for time constitutes no item, when the whole framework is so perfectly preserved in the best classicality.

Unfortunately, the rain now recommenced with all its discomforts, and we had to hoist our umbrellas, cover our horses, and take other precautions against what promised to be even a wetter evening than that of yesterday. On arriving at a small village and mill, where the road divides —into one line, north, turning by the valley and following the stream direct to Andritzena, the other crossing to the right and ascending the hill towards the Temple—we stopped to take counsel, as to which course, under the circumstances, it were wiser to choose. It resulted in one of our party, who suffered from the damp, proceeding to Andritzena, whilst the rest, braving all chances of weather, bore up direct for the Temple.

Our difficulties had not vanished, nevertheless. Scarcely was the journey resumed, when we lost our way. Dimitri went about exploring, but we found

ourselves suddenly in the middle of a field hedged in on all sides. Yet, "he was sure that this lay in the line of road. It was so, last year. What had become of the pathway since?" Still, there stood the fact to contradict him. Nothing was discernible on the declivity or on the low land below, unless young corn and a few trees. Dimitri, in a puzzle at the miracle, rushed frantically up and down upon a venture for information, and at last, meeting two countrymen, demanded what had become of the road,—who had taken it,—where was it concealed? It was there last spring,—who had carried it off? These marvellous questions were not, however, beside the mark. The road *had* been taken away and concealed. The countrymen stared at his simplicity, and made no secret of the matter. They wanted ground: the road was as good as any other piece of land: they had taken possession of it, sown it with corn, and it would, they hoped, produce a capital crop before the summer was over. But if the road was not there, where was it then? Was it not national land, they replied, and as much theirs as any one's else? But how were their neighbours to get to Andritzena? They had few neighbours or none. But stranger travellers? That was not their affair. In fine, did any other road exist? Not that they knew of, unless one had been made by other people from Andritzena. We could get no information or repentance of any kind from them. They seemed, on the contrary, to be convinced that they had done a very sensible thing, and looked for our commendation. The "public" was a very vague abstraction in their head, and the nation and its property a silly

old Demos—to be plundered. It was comic enough, but full of meaning, and leading to a whole series of reflections concerning the very essentials of Greek government and the morals and prosperity of everything Hellenic.

This is but one of many cases, and only the expression of a system so prevalent as to be, not the exception, but the rule. Generally speaking, the feeling of the public wants or rights, or regard for the "nation," is only to be found in Greece amongst the upper classes, and even with them more in books than in deeds. Neighbours are not neighbourly, in our sense of the word, and the local sentiment is as limited as possible to a family, or to a few of its members. A Greek peasant who happens to have land on each side of a road, and wishes to water it, cuts a canal right across, of any depth requisite, without compunction or reflection; and though carts, horses, and carriages have to pass that way night and day, he never gives himself the trouble to cover it, or warn any one of the danger. The same egotism leaves open by night the pits used in towns for making lime, on the most public thoroughfares, without lights: wells are left without walls or parapets, whilst heaps of stones, and all other conceivable impediments, imperil safety in the very middle of the streets.* This is a bad

* Old wells in this state abound round Athens. At the Peiræus, for instance, children have more than once fallen into them and been killed. At Athens itself, a long ditch, which ran from Lycabettus through the upper part of the town, was actually left uncovered for more than twenty-five years of King Otho's reign. This being the aristocratic quarter, accidents were constantly

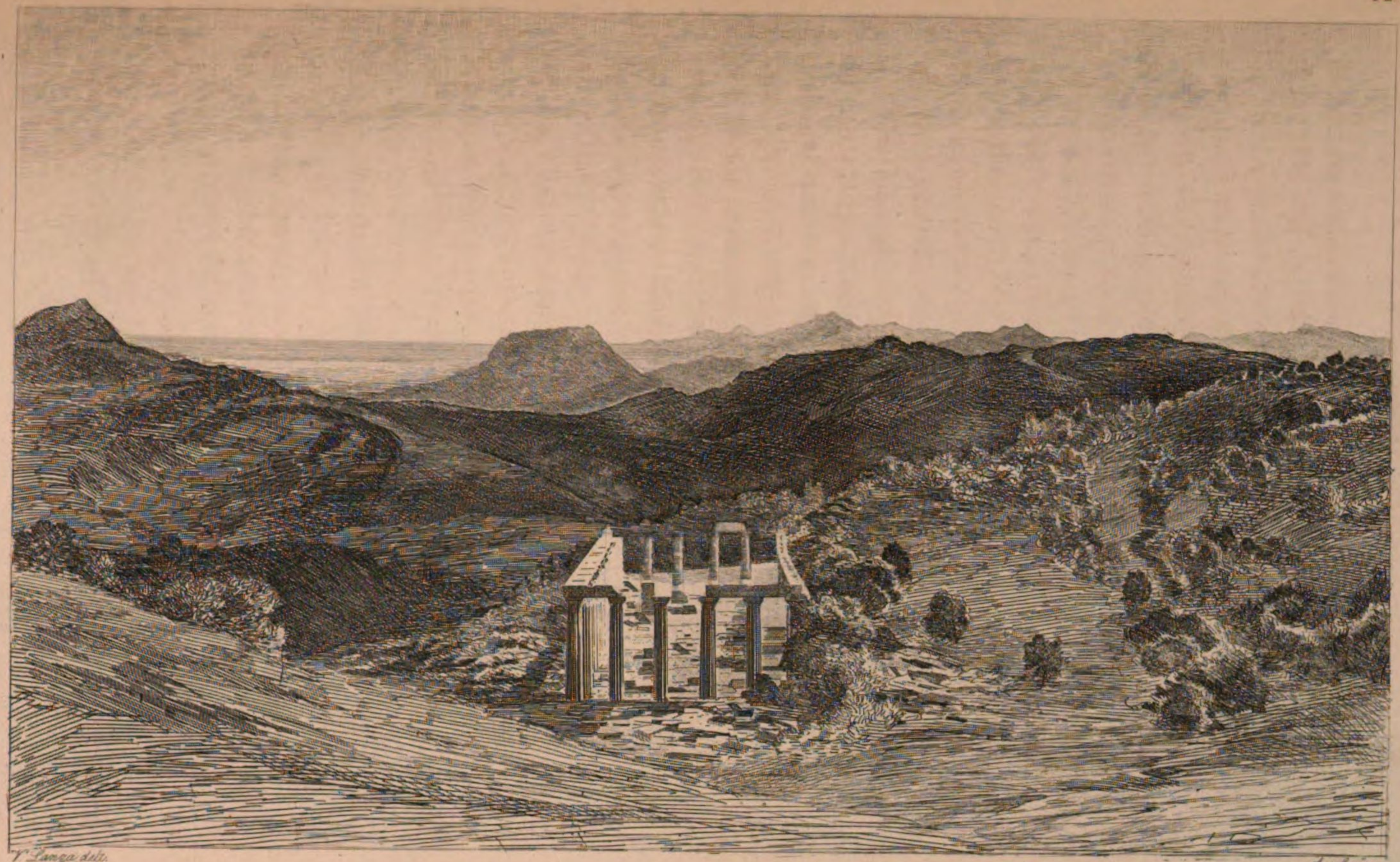
phase of barbarism, for it is a selfish one; but, what is worse, not merely does it remain unchecked, but the bad lesson is effectually taught by the example of Government itself. Of all egotists, the Greek Government is the most egotistical. It leaves its rubbish everywhere, and allows its duty to devolve on the individual or on natural accidents. If the peasant is not shown how to respect the public, by its embodiment in an Administration respecting itself, it cannot be imagined that it will deal delicately with the Government property. All over Greece, even on the official admission of the Government, there is no such thing as well-ascertained demarcation of property: the line between individual and individual rights is very vague, but between public and individual scarcely discernible, and always changing. Nor is it more than might be expected, from the conduct of Legislative and Executive, and the want of the rudest kind of *cadastre*. A law which varies the impost from ten to twenty or twenty-five, as the land may happen to be private or public property, of course offers every temptation to pillage. It is very easy, under circumstances generally as favourable as those above stated, to convert the

occurring to people returning from parties at night; foot-passengers would fall headlong into the dike, carriages get upset, and everything happen short of a fatal result. So late as 1858, Sir Thomas Wyse himself, whilst proceeding to a state ball at the palace, narrowly escaped being precipitated, carriage and all, into one of these trenches, the lights of his own carriage just enabling the coachman to avert the catastrophe. It is but fair to add, that, in this respect, Athens has become a new town under the scientific superintendence of M. Daniel, a French engineer, and Inspecteur des Ponts et Chaussées.—Ed.

public to private use, or to support such conversion later, on the ground of prescriptive right. The collection of the tax by *fermage*, interposing a host of interested and ignorant agents between Government and the cultivator, also opens the door to every kind of collusion. Nibbling, such as we had just witnessed, is going on everywhere, the national property gradually melting into private. But why is it not at once checked? Why, indeed?—a question asked by every new comer and fresh observer, but its cause is perfectly intelligible to every old observer of Greek politics and Greek administration.

Ruminating on our day's experience, and climbing up by what paths we could find, we trusted to Dimitri's terrier-like experiments and the instinct of our Agoyiates to extricate us from our difficulties. At length we got to the summit above the platform, upon which stood the Temple. To our delight the rain suddenly ceased, and allowed us an interval to enjoy the view and proceed in our inquiries.

From the spot where we were standing, the Temple seemed in a small hollow; though still on a summit which commands southward the whole range, from Tetrazi to the sea, embracing the upper valley of Messenia, with its faithful accompaniment, the deep-purpled head of Ithome, rising behind. To the north, the line is connected with the masses of Lykæon, and with the many enfolding neighbouring mountains, its feudatories. The platform of the Temple, small and of rough rocky soil, crowns a point which, though not the highest of the rugged Cotylion, is 3,400 feet above the sea. It is dotted with a few stubbornly-twisted clumps



V. Lanza delt. A. Severn.

TEMPLE OF BASSÆ,
ARCADIA.

of trees, which gradually thicken into wood along the descent. No village, no hamlet is near,—no καλύβια, or even shepherd encampment. The Temple sleeps in entire silence and seclusion. The nearest habitations are in the villages of Skliri, Dragoi, and Paulitza. Its closest neighbour, in ancient times, was the little village of Bassæ, situated on the southern declivity: but its parent was the village or town of Phigaleia, which we had just left to the south-west. It is a remarkable site, probably forming of old a large example of the ἄλσος, or *lucus*, and likely to have been held sacred to the same god and worship before the erection of the existing building. To the Phigaleians, directly and exclusively, the present structure is attributable, the immediate object having been the fulfilment of a vow made to Apollo by the inhabitants, in return for deliverance from a plague which ravaged their territory during the Peloponnesian war. Thence sprung the denomination of "Apollo Epikourios," or Apollo the Helper. At no time, do human habitations appear to have stood near it; and to this circumstance, more than to respect for the sanctity of the place or the beauty of the building, we may owe its preservation. Still, notwithstanding the absence of church or village, we heard of occasional carrying away of stones,—a labour that would hardly reward the time and trouble. Some of the marble, too, seemed freshly splintered: yet this may have been done to ascertain the disputed point as to its kind, —whether Parian or Pentelic. But what has become of the walls of the naos? The question has no solution that I could discover.

The summits of mountains, in accordance with Pelasgic and Phœnician practice, were universally dedicated to the Sun throughout Greece. To the Sun, not as vivifier only, or as healer, but as destroyer—a sort of old Egyptian combination—to be propitiated as well as invoked. The plague came from Apollo, in the Homeric tradition, and was, according to the same tradition, driven away by Apollo. The powerful should be merciful: and Apollo, therefore, in both capacities, was supplicated as the Ἥλιος. It is probable, that the vow and the cost of the undertaking, though made in the name of the Phigaleians, was shared by a larger district. That people was poor, had no commerce, trade, or agriculture, for their rocky and restricted soil could hardly allow it. Then, the plague, in all likelihood, did not confine itself to Phigaleia. It was, no doubt, the same which had ravaged Athens, and had extended through various parts of the Peloponnesus. Common contributions, from those afflicted in common, might be expected: for the practice was not unusual. Although so mountainous, this district, even at the present day, is not remarkable for its healthiness. Obstructions to the numerous torrents cause overflowings and stagnation in the dells, glades, and flat lands on their banks, which, combined with the carelessness of the people, give rise to intermittent and pernicious fevers, the modern successors to plague and other complaints. Nor is its height above the sea any defence, as may be learnt from the citadel at Corinth, where fever is permanent. In 1849, the whole of the neighbourhood of Phigaleia was visited by what would have seemed an epidemic, were not

the real causes quite obvious. And, the sunken eyes, meagre frames, and greenish-yellow complexions of these rude mountaineers, indisputably showed, that they were labouring under this constant scourge of Greece. Immediately below Kakaletri, a portion of the rock had fallen down, in the beginning of 1849, and had dammed up the Neda into a small lake: yet, no effort to remedy the evil was made by the inhabitants, though every day inflicted a fresh penalty on their indolence: and it would probably have continued there, as a standing source of disease, had not funds been contributed by the King from his private purse to insure its removal.

The Arkadians,—a rude and scattered confederation,—ranked below the average civilization of Greece, and in arts were particularly defective. Of the Arkadian race, the Phigaleians, without other occupation than pasturage, were not preeminent. They, therefore, sought their architect elsewhere, and naturally first turned to Athens. The most celebrated of the age, Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon, was invited and accepted.

It is this peculiarity, more, perhaps, than its intrinsic excellence and preservation, which attracts the traveller to the temple of Bassæ. Other temples—Sunium, or Ægina, for instance—may rival it in situation and effect, but they are not the work of the mind from which sprung the Parthenon. We feel curious to compare two works from the same master: one forms a commentary to the other, explains a process, accounts for an application, justifies a variation. The theory which stereotypes

Greek architecture, or, indeed, any branch of Greek art, is founded on very narrow observation.

This building alone, placed in juxta-position with the Parthenon, contains enough to overturn so derogatory a supposition. Greek art, as well as Gothic, though in a more circumscribed sphere, has a large vocabulary: numerous discrepancies exist here, which, with this preconceived opinion, strike at first with surprise, perhaps even disappointment: but a temple to Apollo is not a temple to Minerva, nor is Arkadia Athens. The general principle is the same, but the impression is altogether different. The proportions are not identical, the details are varied, the direction contrary to what was usually adopted. The ordinary rule places the temple east and west: this one lies almost north and south. Such a peculiarity may indicate adherence to ancient site, probably of antiquity sufficient as to deter the pious Arkadians from varying it. The size is somewhat less than the Theseium, but it is much longer in proportion to its breadth. The innovation or diversity of half-pillars, the mixture of Doric, Ionic, and, perhaps, Corinthian, in so small a space as that appropriated to the interior, is in a sense different from the grand uniformity of the Parthenon. As a whole, the impression produced, is grace and elegance more than majesty; which must have been still more remarkable in olden times. The stone used comes from a neighbouring quarry,—a yellowish-grey limestone, extremely fine, and which admits of handling as delicate as marble. This mellow tone, no way interfered with by adjacent building, but raised to a still sharper light by the dark,

vivid green of the occasional groups of trees, must have formed an imposing point to all approaching from below. The surface, by the effect of time and weather, has become grey, and has lost a good deal of that brilliancy suited to a temple of Apollo. It now possesses the melancholy calmness of a northern ruin.

We had scarcely dismounted and were clambering over large masses of broken blocks and pillars to the Temple, when the rain again appeared, drifting over the opposite mountains, menacing us with a renewal of yesterday's discomforts. Taking a hasty glance of the neighbouring country, and seeing no chance of refuge in such emergency, we reluctantly decided on hurrying forward to Andritzena: yet we resolved, at any risk, to make a general survey, and to trust to contingencies for the rest.

The building and all its details have been so often and so minutely examined, that it appears superfluous to repeat what has already been so well said: but a word or two is required, to make after-reflections clear.

The Temple stands on a moderate triple stylobate, surrounded by a peristyle of Doric pillars six in the breadth, and fifteen in the length,—two more than was usual in the Attic canon. This produces the effect noticed above. The Doric tends to the lightness of the Ionic, the lower diameter not being strongly contrasted to the upper. The entasis is less than in most Doric columns of so unequivocally pure a date. The capitals are graceful, but rather poor in their separate effect. The echinus is timidly drawn.

The architrave keeps the columns together; and, for the most part, these are standing, thirty-five out of thirty-eight, the entire original number, being *in situ*. Of the three wanting, two angular pillars of the south front were long since thrown down: the third, the one next the angular pillar to the south-west, was overthrown some time ago: an inward bearing of the whole west side is visible, which portends a greater extent of ruin at no distant period. The whole of the entablature which presented the Metopes found in 1812, and now in England, has fallen, and lies buried or temporarily covered. There is no appearance of pediment or of the sculptures, which might have filled it on either side — a curious subject for inquiry; portions of the soffit, in the shape of coffers, coarse enough and of a rather bizarre pattern, are still on the ground however. The prostrate pillars lie for the most part regularly, with their drums placed one after the other, as if the fall had occurred at once, and had been the work of nature, and not of man,—a striking illustration of which, is seen in the pillar that fell at the Temple of Jupiter at Athens, in 1852.

The interior presents a strong contrast to the distribution of the Attic temples. It contains the usual naos preceded by a pronaos *in antis*, with two pillars, and succeeded by an opisthodomos supported in like manner. The pronaos and opisthodomos were covered with a stone roof, and appear to have excited the admiration of travellers by the length of their beams. Yet they were not of extraordinary size. The space is only sixteen feet, whilst the large beam of the Propylæa measures

twenty-seven, and stones are seen at Baalbec sixty and seventy feet long. The interior of the naos was hypæthral, sustained by a double row of columns. This may be inferred from the following reasons: — 1. the inner frieze, which would have been entirely in the dark, were the temple covered: 2. the proportions of the existing Ionic columns, which would scarcely reach the roof, and require another story. 3. the fragments found near, which can only belong to a lower range of columns, such as were used in similar hypæthral temples in Sicily and Italy, as at Pæstum, for example. The æsthetic discordance of supports heaped on supports was, here, rather compulsory than voluntary: a single supporting pillar would, even on the lightest Ionic or Corinthian proportion, require a considerable diameter, and either narrow the intercolumniations or introduce a new series of measures at variance with the external. A lesser evil was adopted to avoid a greater. Again, the hypæthral form gave rise to this difficulty: had it been continued without a pronaos, it would have disagreeably cut the pediment at right angles; and, even were the pronaos saved from this defect, it would have appeared at the other side with greater force. Pronaos and opisthodomos thus became indispensable, whatever the size of the hypæthral portion, not so much for purposes of utility as for beauty. The Egyptians avoided this embarrassment by their flat roofs. In their climate, they might have dispensed with any covering: yet, no people seem more tenacious on this point. Wherever roofs cease, the temple with them becomes a court. Here at Bassæ, the frieze seems to have dictated the course adopted,

probably on a general principle. Ritual motives and practices may also have been the original cause: for hypæthral temples seem the natural successors to the open-air worship of the Pelasgi.

The space occupied by the naos is confined, and the architect is supposed to have been driven by this necessity, perhaps unavoidable, to adopt the expedient of quarter-columns. Had he placed his pillars close to the wall of the naos, the second row would have introduced a new arrangement in the roof, or so shortened the upper range of pillars as to result in a deformity. Had he completed the pillars, the diameters for their height would have left only a small passage, behind, or between them and the wall of the naos. In face of this twofold inconvenience, there seems to have been no alternative. He chose the principle of shutting in, or of breaking up into small chapels, or at least into divisions, on each side, thus appearing to act from preference, rather than compulsion. The terminations of these dividing walls called for some ornament, and the Ionic columns do not appear to be out of place. Of the character and execution, various opinions may be formed. The fluting is of the usual description, but the base very peculiar: it bears no resemblance to the Attic, either in members or outline. It is formed of an ordinary torus and a sweeping cavole, followed by another of smaller size and more perpendicular. The result is a greater spread of base, and of a flatter or more crushed character, than we are accustomed to in Greek architecture. It shows something of the animal hoof, — of the camel's in particular — which is not agreeable: and, for

motive or excuse, we look about in vain. There is another mystery. The two last of these division walls, instead of running like the others at right angles with the walls of the naos, cut them sharp at an obtuse angle. Five pillars stand on each side of this hypæthral part: and the ground between, floored with white marble, is lower than the rest of the Temple—whether so accidentally or by design, is doubtful.

A considerable space intervenes between these divisions and the wall of the opisthodomos. Here, the statue of the god was probably placed, this portion being covered in, as well as the pronaos and opisthodomos. The remains discovered and the very size and form, support this conjecture. The particular point may be a difficult matter to fix precisely, though the variation between the disputants cannot be greater than a few feet. This spot, of which a counterpart exists in most temples, and especially in the Parthenon, would, therefore, naturally be fixed on as the proper site for the statue of the presiding deity. But there arise, besides, other confirmations. The size of this sacrarium or adytum being one-third of the whole temple, as also the peculiar adjustment of the walls, lead to the belief that here was the ancient site of some ancient worship, preserved with care in the new structure by the known religious conservatism of the Arkadians. Such adjustments have been made in the Erechtheum, for example, and are common in many temples in Egypt. True, no positive traces of base, statue, or inscription have been found, to justify this presumption: but, the original statue is presumed to have been identical

with that sent off to the Megalopolitans, though some think this was a distinct statue, and only on the same model. The existence of a bronze colossal statue is rather questionable, such not being customary for presiding divinities. The fragments of hands and feet, however, discovered on this site, do not belong to a whole statue, but rather to an akrolith — common in remote districts, and especially in remote ages. They may be the remains of the archaic statue, of which the one sent to Meglaopolis was a copy. Stackelberg imagines the statue to have been in front of the supposed Corinthian column, which is believed to have stood before the entrance.

But the rain at intervals kept warning us to interrupt this hasty survey, and to quicken our steps towards Andritzena. Accordingly, breaking off our inquiries abruptly, we remounted and began descending the stony northern flanks of Cotylion.

After winding down a very broken and slippery road, the brushwood gradually succeeding to harsh, gnarled oaks and savage pines,* we glided into a

* A new variety of pine has been discovered in this region within the last few years, the peculiarity of which consists in the sprouting forth of new branches around the crown, when the top-shoot has been cut away. Its existence was unknown until 1856. In that year, the court gardener at Athens, Herr Schmidt, thought he saw a difference in the seeds of some ripe cones sent him from Arkadia, and forwarded them to Germany, where his opinion received confirmation. Nothing further, however, was done until 1860, when two forest inspectors, traversing the district near Tripolitza, suddenly came upon a large forest of this very pine, stretching in a continuous line over mountain and valley for sixteen or eighteen miles, in a breadth of eight or nine. Their attention was especially attracted by its thick and full appearance, accounted for, on close examination, by the singular peculiarity above men-

lovely country. It was the ideal of an Arkadian landscape. A series of gentle eminences, sweeping into soft secluded valleys, wooded in the richest manner, with every variety of southern shrub,—arbutus, lentisk, agnus castus, bay, and myrtle,—timbered with luxuriant masses of oak and plane, and now and then broken by dark-green clumps of fir and pine, fine pasturage, intermingling below, the grand framework of the great Peloponnesian ranges around and above: these formed the elements, of which every step presented a new variety. The red soil, recalling the fertile recesses of South Devon, and the close-foliaged pathways, revelling in all their freshness, from the rain, and exhaling their scented odours, as we brushed through them, completed this inland woodland picture. In spite of cloud and wet, we had hardly a wish to shorten our journey, especially when the sunshine would beam forth at times along the mountain flanks, or open up some depths beneath, till then hidden in vapour. The valley was nowhere really broad, but being involved so by the interlapping of the feet of the mountains, it gave the impression of an extensive and ever-varying district. Another road, lower than ours, conducted on the opposite side from Dragoi to Andritzena. For the greater part

tioned. In every direction, they found trees pushing forth numerous branches where the top-shoot had vanished, either by the hand of nature or of man. Subsequent to their report, the Queen despatched one of her chief gardeners to the spot; and all inquiries have resulted in establishing the novelty of the species. It has since been named *Abies Regina-Amaliæ Heldreich*, and is supposed to be the Ἐλάτη ἡ ἄῤῥην of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 3, 10, 6). See full particulars in the memorandum by M. Heldreich, Professor of Botany at Athens, in Appendix.—Ed.

of the way we kept on the higher ridges. As we descended, a novel sight burst upon us,—half a dozen workmen busily engaged on the road! They belonged to the Demos of Andritzena, as they told us with some pride, and were zealously hastening their own work with their own hands, an honour and an example to their countrymen. I cannot say, that much engineering or other skill was displayed in the performance; but they had the good sense to make the most, for the present, of a bridle-path — not requiring anything better for their donkeys and agriculture—leaving to future governments the task of improvement, for which they have not yet the means, or, from what I can see, the appetite.

We soon neared Andritzena, and emerging from the woods, began to perceive, scattered on the sides of two opposite hills, the tops of churches, and the red roofs of newly-built houses. I was rejoiced to find these houses intermixed with groups of cypresses, and embosomed in masses of more joyous and fresher foliage. After a circuit over one hill and another, through a distribution *ad libitum* of street and house, we at length reached the hospitium which Dimitri and our gendarme had selected. Andritzena has rather a dubious character for hospitality, and even at Athens warnings were many of the possibility of being left in the street without lodging. But Government letters handed in by gensdarmes, are still respected; and, on arriving there was no reason to complain of want of cleanliness or comfort in our apartments, or of absence of attention and courtesy on the part of our hosts. The rain had penetrated enough during our morn-

ing's ride, to justify the luxury and precaution of a fresh toilet before dinner. This was soon ready, and served in a large and well-washed room. We found Miss Grocott awaiting us, having arrived somewhat earlier by the lower road, and in sufficient time to escape the rain.

Our excellent accommodation, in such striking contrast to that of the two previous evenings, with a good night's repose in prospect, imparted new ardour and cheerfulness to our circle. The evening was further enlivened by a visit from our hostess, the owner of much currant property in this neighbourhood, and whose visits to Zante and Corfu in earlier years gave many topics of conversation.

CHAPTER II.

BASSÆ CONTINUED.

MAY 20.—Our original intention had been to proceed on to Olympia to-day: but, as we had seen so little of the Temple yesterday, and Miss Grocott having missed it altogether, we easily persuaded ourselves to adopt a pleasanter course, and, by the sacrifice of an additional day to our journey, fully to enjoy a second visit to Bassæ. Arranging to dine at the ruins, and dispensing with our Agoyiates, who were not sorry for a day's rest in so good a harbour as Andritzena, we set out early. The weather looked promising, and taking the charming road of last evening, in two hours we reached the platform of the Temple.

The impression made by the aspect of these ruins to-day, was much more favourable than on our first visit. There is no timber at this height, nor are the few trees scattered around of a nature to inspire a feeling of beauty. They rise spare, separate, and stunted, hard dealt with by winter and summer storms, crooked, and struggling from out the grey rocks, apparently old dwarfed oaks, — relics, perhaps, of a thicker grove, now left to mourn over rather than ornament the Temple. The soil is broken and flinty, and bespread with huge iron-coloured blocks, like masses of old walls, which peer

up and thwart one's every step. The Temple itself is in harmony with its foreground: the yellow, creamy mellowness of the stone is dulled by the weather into a sober grey, whilst the dimensions are not great enough to convert this into an element of grandeur. But the distances, surpassingly noble and beautiful, correct this Arkadian harshness, and, with the recollection of the scenery through which we had just passed, it was easy to connect the Temple with the conception of antiquity.

We proceeded to re-examine it. No enclosure appears, nor platform, nor artificial smoothing, as at Athens in the Parthenon, nor any outward wall like that in the Olympeium and at Sunium, and which occurs so universally in Egyptian temples. Close by is a sort of surface, upon which, perhaps, stood a fort commanding the valley to the south-east. Fragments of pottery are found in the neighbourhood: but what connection this fort held to the Temple does not appear. There is no indication of any other building. The Temple seems to have stood quite solitary: but that dwellings must have existed for the custodians of the Temple, as also depôts for the preservation of offerings, possibly of value, is almost certain.

The fragments of sculpture lying on the floor and in the peristyle, are principally coffers of the soffit and antifixes, with the usual fleuron. Neither give a high idea of the execution or design. The design is very varied, for there are many diversities of coffer ornament, none, however, betokening much originality or grace. Unlike the Parthenon coffers, they are carved, which may be accounted for by their position nearer to the eye. The fleuron orna-

ments of the antifixes are singularly clumsy and coarse. Their fragments are disappearing gradually, some having been freshly broken: the splinters lay about on the floor — not the work of a peasant, but of a traveller, perhaps to test the quality of the marble. It is not Pentelic, nor yet Parian—a question of moment in reference to the sculptures, but of little weight as to the building itself. There are some fragments of Ionic capitals, all coarse, which is a defect heightened by the lichen now covering them and rendering them quite green. Such a fact, allowing for the weather at this altitude and in this rude climate, is in itself indicative of the very defects in execution noticed above. And it is the more remarkable, because the closeness in the jointing, though not equal to that in the Parthenon, is not equalled in any other Greek temple. The quality of this marble resembles the marble of Hymettus, though inferior: but there is no reason to suppose it came from Athens. The architectural portion of the building was, probably, altogether local. It is true, that a great use of Attic marble prevailed in the Peloponnesus, and the greyish-yellow limestone of the pillars is too hard to admit of nice and at the same time easy chiselling: but Ross * states, that quarries of the limestone of which the Temple was built are still to be seen on the mountain-slope facing Eira.

The architrave is well preserved: nearly the whole of three sides stands firm, though not close: some few blocks, which have fallen, show how the blocks were raised. The fourth side has disappeared.

* Ross, *Reisen durch Griechenland*, B. i. p. 100.

It was much the same as the corresponding portion of the temples of Syracuse and Agrigentum.

The frieze, in equal pieces, is in the British Museum. It seems to have all fallen down, and in this manner to have been preserved. It was found in this situation by Stackelberg and his companions in 1811, and was transferred to England in the summer of 1812. It ran in a continued series round the naos, except at that part which crossed the entrance from the pronaos, and at the end, opposite to where stood the statue of the god.

This frieze represents two distinct subjects—two great epic episodes—which at first view seem to have no connection with each other, and still less with the object and history of the Temple. The one represents the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ; the other that of the Amazons. They bear little on the Apollo worship, for which Arkadia, not less than Lakonia, was famous, and little either on the immediate cause which gave occasion for the erection of the Temple. No reference is seen here to the God of Light, none to the God of Healing; no allusion to the Karneian or Amyklæan or Homeric myths; none to the slayer of Hyacinthus, or to the sender or healer of plague—the propitiated god of the fearful silver bow. On the contrary, the two subjects refer to feats of high renown and of frequent recurrence in the Athenian Cyclus. Theseus is the hero in each — the Attic ideal: and both are treated, in the manner an Attic sculptor would have adopted for an Attic temple. The enigma is difficult to explain. Some writers have cut it short, by supposing that the sculptures were originally intended

for an Athenian building. Le Normant wishes us to believe that it did not answer, was thrown on the sculptor's hands, and purchased at a discount by the Phigaleians when they began the Temple, and that, having got the work, they built the Temple for the sculptures, instead of ordering the sculpture for the Temple.* This theory, needless to say, is wholly gratuitous. There are no facts, fragmentary or otherwise, to confirm it. Nor is it even quite clear that the sculptures are Athenian, or of the period of the Temple. They bear strong evidence, it is true, of Athenian treatment and conception, but much more of the early, —the Mycon, than of the later,—the Phidian age. Possibly, they may have come from a provincial hand of the same school. It is remarkable that Pausanias, whose attention is generally awake, and who is here in admiration at the size of the stones, says nothing of the sculptures. They could, therefore, hardly have belonged to any great name, although the Phigaleians piqued themselves on seeking out the best. They sent, for example, to the Æginetan sculptor Onatas, when they wanted a bronze statue in the sanctuary on Mount Elaion. Were the frieze considered remarkable, Pausanias would have hardly passed it over in silence: he, who took such pains to make us acquainted with every little templet or accessory piece of sculpture, which he met on the Akropolis, could not have omitted this. Even the quality of the stone does not necessarily connect it with Athens. It is de-

* They built the Temple, says Le Normant (*Trésor Numismatique*) boldly,—"dans le but unique de faire valoir la frise." He takes no account of the epithet ἐπικούριος.

scribed in the English account vaguely as "marbles," and later as "a brownish limestone, much inferior in whiteness to the marble employed in the sculptures brought from Athens." But the tone of the Athenian marbles, Pentelic or Hymettian, or any other of its districts, runs into the grey, not brown, sometimes in a general hue, sometimes in large veins: and this would rather speak against, than for Le Normant's theory. Were it certainly Pentelic, Curtius rightly thinks the question would be decided in favour of Athens. Stackelberg calls it Parian: but this would not be conclusive against — it would only leave the question open. Paros was in frequent and direct communication with Athens, especially in the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. Its marble was much used,—more, indeed, than Pentelic, — for sculptural purposes, for which, on the testimony of even modern sculptors, it is better adapted.* The yellow or brownish tone is more in harmony with Parian than with Pentelic, though this again may be modified by circumstances. The actual material of the Temple is a brown limestone, but too hard for ordinary sculpture uses. It can scarcely be supposed, that where other marble was taken for the coffers and antifixes, so hard a stone could be employed for the more refined and delicate

* An Athenian sculptor, who has daily experience of both marbles, has often told me that he finds the Pentelic grain crumbling, sandy, and gritty compared to the Parian. The fault of the Parian lies in its larger crystalline character, which quality depends again on the quarry. Some of the ancient statues show this defect very markedly: but the modern quarries, particularly those opened lately, are almost exempt from it.

sculptures of the frieze. Its present outer hue is grey, like our Portland stone.

But, without attempting to sever connection with Athens, the question will recur how to reconcile a mythic representation, pre-eminently Athenian, with the demands of the Phigaleians or their worship. The ignorance of later times is no apology for rejection, nor is it at all a rule and certainty that the sculptural decoration should directly express the purpose of the Temple. Whether offered to Ares or Theseus, the Theseian reliefs do not treat of either, or of their exploits, but of the labours and triumphs of Hercules. The conversion of the Tyrrhenian pirates into dolphins, on the frieze of the Lysicratian monument, has no close reference to Bacchus presiding over the dramatic representations of Athens: yet, a little examination brings them into strict relation, and the stimulant to curiosity, with that curiosity gratified, added—and was, perhaps, intended to add—a new zest to the other æsthetic excellencies of the work. They were rather typical, symbolic, and suggestive, than matter-of-fact expressions of the history or ritual of the god. We find in sculpture what we see in poetry,—the allusive-episodical treatment of a Pindaric ode.

And in this sense, more than in an historic or direct mythic application, are both subjects to be interpreted. They are meant to express the fabled power of Apollo, the Helper and Healer, in subjugating moral and physical ills, in driving out barbarism by civilization, and in setting up order, self-restraint, and wise institutions over the rude and wild forms of savage life.

Not that either Theseus or the Amazons, or the Centaurs and Lapithæ, were unknown to the local historic legends even of the Peloponnesus. In the irruption of the Amazons from the Thermodon, those female warriors did not confine themselves to Attica; they penetrated far into the Peninsula. Their invasion was stopped by defeat, and their defeat was considered as a rescue from the overpowering weight of Asiatic aggression through every part of Hellas, the ἀξιαζώνιος πόλεμος, a subject of universal celebration. It was of those deliverances, ranked with the γιγαντομαχία and κενταυρομαχία in popular national poetry. Theseus was the hero, but under the protection of Apollo and Minerva. It was to Apollo he had early dedicated his hair, and under his protection gained his victories. To the oracle of Delphi he had recourse when pressed by the Amazonian invasion in Attica. Monuments commemorating the rescue, were to be found at a late period through all the Peloponnesus. To Theseus, in conjunction with Hermes and Hercules, sacrifice was offered in the celebration of all military games,* and, even beyond Attica, sanctuaries were often dedicated to his honour.† The worship of Apollo himself, as Apollo Amazonios, in his relation with Artemis Astrateia, to whom the Amazons are stated to have built a temple on the close of their irruption, bears directly on the connection existing between the Apollo worship, even in Peloponnesus, and a myth considered too exclusively to be Attic. Nor was this myth confined to Apollo. The Temple of Jupiter Olym-

* Paus. iv. 32, 2. † *Ib.* iv. 32, 2.

pius, at Olympia, presented the same subject. The metopes of the opisthodomos introduced, connectively with Hercules, the battle of the Amazons, as one of his labours. The fragments that remain show how entirely it was treated in the Athenian style. In other parts of the same temple, it again occurred both in sculpture and painting, unconnected with Hercules, but bearing directly on Theseus and Achilles;* which is proof sufficient, not only of the universal popularity of the myth, but of the variety with which it was treated and the vagueness of its references.

The battle of the Centaurs, which also presents Theseus as its hero, relates, it may be thought, less markedly to the legends of the Phigaleians. Nevertheless it is perhaps applicable to their moral position. The Phigaleians were notorious for their intemperance, which strongly contrasted with their many manly virtues. The godlike power which imposes a check on self-indulgence, or conquers its exercise by steady, heroic force, is well worthy of reverence and illustration. No more striking exemplification could be found, than when outrage and insolence are punished and rendered vain, by the self-relying calmness and acquired strength of the Hellenic hero. The battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ was a great moral lesson, done into stone for the guidance of future Phigaleians.†

* Paus. v. 11, 2.

† Phialia was the more recent name, Phigalia or Phigaleia the more ancient. Both are found in Pausanias. Hierocles has Φιαλεῖα, the pronunciation of the ι and ει being identical, and Φιαλεῖς for the inhabitants. This after-modification gave rise to a *jeu de mot*, taken with κοτύλη, as allusive to their fondness for the "cup," φιάλη and κοτύλη going well together. Harmodius in Athenæus combines

It is a special good fortune, that the whole series of these two subjects, forming twenty-four tablets, have been recovered, except one belonging to the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, and which, save some slight injury, have been easily repaired, or the defects supplied: the twenty-four tablets are in excellent preservation. The height of each is 2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches: the length differs according to the nature of the subjects. The entire length is 101 feet 2 inches The battle of the Amazons was to the right, looking from the end of the naos: that of the Centaurs to the left. The two series were divided by a tablet representing Apollo and Diana, in a chariot drawn by deer—at the termination of the naos.

Such is the general arrangement, clear and well-balanced. The same instructive taste is observable in the treatment of the details, and in the careful attention to the demands of the place. Two main conditions were to be regarded—light and space. The light comes directly upon the sculptures. It was not necessary to exaggerate their relievo or proportions, in order to give effect to their shadows. They form a continuous series, similar to those in

this passion with their wandering propensities; though common to all Arkadians,—shepherds even to this day, and nomadic. They were accused of drinking wine without water, and a temple in their territory justified this charge—*Διονυσοῦ ἀκρατοφόρου ναός*. Their rude habits in other particulars, their dirt and wandering ways, are noted by Pausanias:—

Ἀρκάδες Ἀζᾶνες βαλανηφάγοι οἳ Φιγάλειαν
Νάσσασθ' ἱπολεχοῦς Δηοῦς κρυπτήριον ἄντρον,
Ἧκετε πευσόμενοι λιμοῦ λύσιν ἀλγινόεντος,
Μοῦνοι δὶς νομάδες, μοῦνοι πάλιν ἀγριοδαῖται.

—*Ark.* c. 42.

the exterior of the naos of the Parthenon. Too marked a projection in any of the tablets must clash, however advantageous in the management of the particular subject, and disturb the harmony of the whole. Hence the isokephalism, which works so satisfactorily in the Parthenon sculptures, tempering the principal by the subsidiary, the plastic by the architectonic art, producing the same subsidiary effect in sculpture, that glazing does in painting. This is carefully attended to throughout the whole of the two series, skiagraphy toning down the contours, however cold, and sometimes angularly sharp they may be. The management of outline was scarcely less skilful. The bas-reliefs were not only seen from below, but from almost immediately beneath them, and at a considerable height. There was no sufficient *reculade*, and no means of obtaining a horizontal view. The naos is 37 feet long and 13½ feet broad, and the frieze was placed at a height of 22 feet 6 inches. Many of the figures, which from their position in the Museum now appear too tall, were seen to be of the natural size, in reference to the condition first mentioned—light. The distance, and this difficulty, were taken into just consideration, in this as in many of the best works—isolated statues as well as friezes—of antiquity. The same refinement of sense regulated, no doubt, the employment of colour: the feeling which would allow the painting of the external metopes and the completion of the ornamentation of the more distant architectural members, would have repudiated as disfigurement such application to the frieze. None of the figures, even in their accessories, appear to have

been painted. If paint were used at all, it could only be employed in the ground of the frieze, to detach the subject more distinctly from its accidents and base. This was evidently the object of painting throughout, either red in an apartment, or blue in the open air, among the ancients.

Many of the statues of antiquity furnish good examples of this theory. In the Apollo Belvidere, for instance, the legs are too long, seen horizontally, and many of the muscular peculiarities are explicable only upon such a principle. The Laokoon also was destined for a niche, and to be viewed by artificial light. In visiting the Vatican Gallery by torchlight, one is struck by the numberless carefully elaborated details, sunk and lost in the broader light of day. Statues, that by day have looked uniform and common-place, like a first sketch, start into vigorously-enunciated life. Canova was so much aware of this, that, in order to carry the fleshiness and unaccentuated morbidezza of his female figures to the *ne plus ultra*,* he used to work at them by lamplight. I have so found him, more than once at the "Recumbent Nymph." Perhaps, on a contrary principle and to keep within bounds, Michael Angelo also hewed away by night at his Moses. The bas-reliefs of the Parthenon show many sacrifices to conventionalism and optical necessity. The sitting figures nearly fill the same height as the processionary—those on foot, as those on horseback. The horses too, to northern eyes, seem purposely curtailed of their legitimate proportions,

* Some may accuse him of *plus ultra* in this respect, for his busts give one the notion of rubbed pastilles.

to give a greater height to the human figure. They look like ponies, or, as some will have it, like good-sized Molossian dogs. But this is no great exaggeration. Such horses are still common in Greece. I do not speak of the Skopelos small Shetland-like ponies, but of the ordinary Thessalian breed of horses. For years, I have possessed one which might well have stood for his portrait to the sculptors of the Panathenaic procession. All the characteristics — basis for the ideal — were there: delicacy of head, curvature of neck, span of shoulder, shortness and compactness of body, strength, energy, and fire, yet not without gentleness and an intelligence uncommon in our own horses. A traveller fresh from Arabia can understand this, but it is incomprehensible to a German. His own life, and the horse-nature of Germany, have accustomed him only to the heavy Mecklenburg and Norman breed, whilst an Englishman sees no perfection but in sinew and bone, and it may be added, the lankiness of our racers. The Romans and Greeks were, not less than the Germans and Arabs, at opposite points of the compass. Compare the Flemish-looking charger of Marcus Aurelius with the Parthenon horse, the Balbi, which was also Greek, or even those of Lysippus.

To return to Bassæ.

The treatment of the subjects on the Temple frieze, as a whole or in part, especially if the scene be in Asia, is expressive—dramatic, indeed, rather than epic, but still remarkable for its Hellenic reserve and sobriety. There are many peculiarities, which tend to assign it a date later than Phidias and his school, both in conception and execution.

The idea is carried out, not as a gallery of separate episodes, nor as a line of subsidiary architectural embellishment, like the friezes of the Parthenon, but as a poem, in its various stages of development, the centre to be found in the middle bas-relief, the accessories or supports on either side. The centre piece is the personal engagement between Theseus and Hippolyta, with the assistant deity Hera, the enemy to the Greek, the protectress of the Amazon, by her side, and the typical deity, the river Thermodon, at her feet. This forms a climax or pivot to the whole. All the encounters on the frieze, are but incidents to which this centre is the key. No one tablet can be called complete: in order to interpret it, a context is essential. And this interpretation is worked out technically, as well as æsthetically, through the manner in which diversities of nationality, costume, and arms, as well as attitudes, are treated. The application of drapery, in early Greek art, went little beyond the expression of form; even Phidias employed it but very sparingly in any other sense. Here, it is the rule: the intervals between the figures and groups are not filled, but sometimes connected by a flying chlamys, a raised battle-axe, or by loose flowing hair. The intermixture or contrast of the sexes, of Greek and barbarian, of youth and age, of clothed and naked, are additional aids; and the tendency to the pictorial which all this induces, is discoverable in the manner the figure arrangements themselves are managed. Many of the figures are half hid, completely cut off, or connected with each other only in a supplementary manner; which is all more or less of a divergence, not merely from

Greek plastic, but from every branch of Greek art, at the earlier period of its history. The first wise and grave canons of the art are, however, still sufficiently preserved to avoid contrasts. The handmaid character of sculpture in reference to architecture, which Cornelius has so poetically characterized in his apotheosis of Michael Angelo, is mainly observed. And even an occasional approach to the sentimental, comes within the legitimate range.

Such subjects and their treatment are rare, but they were not unknown to the best periods of Greek art. In the sculptures of Olympia, in the great Temple of Jupiter, we have the legend of Achilles and Penthesilea from one of the cyclic poets. This allows, or rather requires, a large indulgence in modes of treatment supposed to be confined to recent sculpture. The defence of the altar, the wounded Amazon led away from the field, and the effeminate Hellenic youth, have something almost Ovidian. They are the minor lyric or idyllic shadings, of a great epic picture. However, power sufficient is manifest throughout, though no excess. The same may be said of the management of the details. The ideal is held steadily in view, when depicting the sex, the warrior, the age, or the action.

The portrayal of the action itself, though verging on effort, and at times on rashness, does not overstep proprieties, nor sacrifice the ideal to an affectation of naturalism. One sees that another step beyond, and the work would become extravagance — either feebleness or grimace; but it is on this dangerous brink that the artist stops. What strikes one more sensibly is, that the work, though inspired

by the genius of Phidias, is not really of his school, and notwithstanding certain similarities of treatment, possibly not even of his time, and that it is inferior in the higher qualities—a descent, one may say. There are also indications in it of a still further and more rapid decline.

Whether actually executed at Athens or not, the mind and hand of Athens is here: and, making every allowance for the objections of opponents, we find no other to whom such excellencies can be ascribed. We look, with a view of accounting for them, to Athenian artists, settled in the Peloponnesus, or on a passing visit. Such for instance was Alkamenes, who, with Pæonios of Mende, was called to ornament the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia. Phidias may possibly have given the great design and, perhaps, a good deal of the details, but Alkamenes already held an independent position in art, and from that circumstance alone, may have sought to contrast his work with that of the great master. Such is the history of all art; not so much from a tendency to improvement, as from a love of autonomy. Heresy aims at standing alone, in preference even to standing well by following in the tread of others. Even foreign birth does not exclude artistic connection. For a long time the colonies themselves must, in their Hellenism, have become more or less atticised.

The battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, though of the same character, does not offer these peculiarities quite so markedly in execution. Here Theseus is decidedly the hero, and the treatment of the legend is especially Athenian. The animal nature, standing in place of the feminine of the

Amazon fight, presents the same combination of apparently hostile elements. To harmonize these, and to bring them into a *discordia concors* of form and action, has been a favourite paradox,—a *difficulté à vaincre*,—not less in ancient than in recent Greek and Roman art, and to which the misinterpretation of ancient legends and their rituals seems to have given rise. The plastic disposal of each subject, as it is thus made to represent a consistent "rhapsody," is worthy of the sculptor of the Amazons, whatever his name.

There is no mark of paint in these sculptures, and no motive for its use exists. The *chiaroscuro* is too positive, from the position, to leave anything in doubt. The ancients were master skiagraphists, both in sculpture and architecture, as soon as they had emerged from experiment into art. In sculpture we have probably detected as yet a portion only of the mystery,—indeed we might say so also of architecture—the passage in Vitruvius notwithstanding. But, as discoveries have of late opened a whole system in reference to eye in the management of outline, it is not too much to hope for a similar discovery in the arrangement of shade proportions. In our climate, where there is a fluidity or muddiness in shadows, but especially in our towns, such refinements will scarcely appear possible or necessary. But dealing with sparkling white marble under the sky and sun of Attica, the case is directly the contrary. Here, shadows become substances, in their lines as determinate to the eye as the bodies themselves which throw them. The temple is built as much of them, as of pillars or architrave itself. This is the great difficulty to all

landscape-painters in Greece, especially to those from the North. The middle grounds, and sometimes the back-grounds, force themselves peremptorily to the front: they cannot be kept in their place, except by conventionalism. To manage this of old, to glaze down the subordinate portion of a building or group by more or less depth of portico, peristyle, pediment, or their accessories, was a portion of those efforts requisite to preserve the unflawed harmony of the whole; and, in this view, nothing was neglected. There was an "isokephalism" in shadow as there was in bodily projections. On this principle, painting in Greece would cede to sculpture. No need for example of colour or insertions in the eye of a statue: a little more projection of eyebrow, carried sometimes to a technical and unnecessary excess, would suffice to produce the effect. Such is the case in this instance. The deep-chiselled eyebrows do the business of colour. In more archaic works, colour still holds a symbolic meaning. The gods and goddesses not only had their symbols near, but often in their actions and looks were symbolism themselves. The owl-eyed—*γλαύκωπις*—Athena is of a different dignity and godship from the ox-eyed — *βοῶπις* — Hera. According as art advanced, the distinctions, theological and ritual, were absorbed in the artistic. At Bassæ the artistic predominates, and is carried on throughout, as we have seen.

The "ideal" and "idealism"—an inverted or composed nature, a sort of sublimated conventional existence—is taken as the characteristic of Greek art. But, if there be one principle or peculiarity the cause more than another of her whole intel-

lectual existence and performance, it is a certain "positivism," as opposed to the conjectural, the reverie, and mysticism of the North. This positivism is seen in the architecture, sculpture, poetry, in the whole life of Greece. Architecture had no secrets, no doubts, no surprises: all was seen at once, and seen well. It expressed the multiplication of a chief idea, under various rhythmical recurrences. The peristyle itself was only another version of wall; whilst the entablature, in all its parts, was a floor sustaining the roof. The theatrical representation was more or less the χόρος or dance, long preserving its choral character — the dance with song, — the German *Reigen:* and it suffered no deviations from this type. The dance kept a single line, as it still does in Greece; and, as nearly as possible, the dancers were of the same height, same forms, and adopted the same attitudes. Hence the shallow breadth of a Greek stage, which required no grouping, no rows of figures behind figures: all who were accessory stood in the chorus, as rank and file, and apart. The like spirit presided over their sculpture, which, in bas-relief, is only the theatrical chorus or dialogue done into stone. Hence their single lines and the regularly duplicated, triplicated figures. The results are distinct conceptions, and a clear expression of each theme: little connection and great blanks. Attempts have been made to remedy the defects inherent in this system, and links were forged to fill up the chain and voids, at first by mere accessories, then by principals. These bas-reliefs of Bassæ are examples of the first, gradually developing into the second. Drapery and weapons are no disturbers

of idea, and, as far as lines and shadows go, satisfactorily serve to unite component parts. But figures placed in still lower relief behind, is a further step forward. It is carrying painting perspective openly into sculpture, and is thus also a downward step. The confusion to which this leads, is conspicuous in the treatment of the same subject in sarcophagi. When all true sentiment for sculpture had departed, such decadence was but natural. Algardi's work in St. Peter's is only a great chiselled painting, containing nothing plastic from beginning to end but the material. No sacrifice of the kind is seen, here, at Bassæ. But sculpture did not long remain so free from these defects.

The rain having suspended its violence during the whole morning, had allowed us full opportunity to note and draw; but some lingering indications still warned us not to tempt our good fortunes too much. So, after dining in the adytum of the Temple, we reluctantly bade adieu to these instructive and beautiful ruins, and, taking the same road by which we came, arrived before sunset at Andritzena.

CHAPTER III.

VALLEY OF THE ALPHEUS.

MAY 21.—I found, by the tramp of men and horses, on rising, that all was in a forward state of preparation for our start. Looking over the wooden balcony into the courtyard beneath, I beheld as picturesque a confusion of man and beast, with appropriate scenery, as Prout himself could have desired. The house was not old: on the contrary, a great deal of it had been rebuilt in the newest and most approved style, and was of larger and loftier size than we generally meet in Greece. The chief room, where we dined, had the Turkish richly-carved though unpainted ceiling—a sort of embroidery in wood, which regarded minuteness and delicacy of pattern more than correctness: for scarcely a line was quite straight. The windows, though unglazed, made positive pretensions to architecture. They had imposts telling of compromise between Turkish and Venetian, a taste pretty generally followed throughout the town. The other rooms were in accordance, and showed a comfort apparently not rare amongst the villagers. The Greeks *will* call it a town: but, for some time yet, I prefer the other name. No more cheering sight exists in Greece, than the vigorous thriving village. It is still the "boy," to swell out betimes to a

hale, strong working man. All care is, for the present, chiefly devoted to the interior. No solicitude is vouchsafed to the exterior of the mansion, as if the Turk were still at the door, and there was therefore no knowing how many "purses" a smart-looking front might entail. The courtyard would have suited the oldest hostelry, and was proof against all flimsy innovation. There were the rickety balconies, propped on the slenderest of all possible legs, with the tiled umbrella roof spreading a bold defiance to the southern sun,—a hint Michael Angelo has so well applied in all his Florentine entablatures. Here were the coarse lumbering steps, sure to have dangerous breaks and dislocations; the solid but ragged door and window-frames; the huge courtyard gate, never shut till night; the pavement, if pavement it could be called, being nothing but a complication of holes and heaps, and no better than a London street under perpetual repairs. Paint had never come near it, nor was likely to be in request: it would have looked effeminate in the old veteran. All the gaiety was comprised in a few of the very freshest of vine-leaves revelling over an old trellis-work, which remained, simply because there was nothing to pull it down. Just now, as the sun was rising, and piercing through the openings of the building with its sharp slanting beams, the vine looked particularly joyous amidst all these glooms. Nor had it escaped the attention of the dogs and other domestic dependents, who, in horror of the incomings and outgoings, kicks and noise, retired here to finish off their morning slumbers. Others, besides the dogs, seemed of the same opinion.

Some of the Agoyiates looked wistfully in that direction, but Dimitri would not allow them time to yield to the temptation. Baggage was loaded and unloaded, and half-loaded to be unloaded again. Wonderful it was that what had so often been learned, had every morning to be learned again. Saddles were put exactly on the wrong horse, or a horse was missing altogether,—gone, perhaps, on a visit; the beds were still upon the steps; the canteens stood wide open, on the edge of the railing; young imps grinned at us through the gate; there was clamour excessive upon all manner of trifles, and strong suspicions, notwithstanding, that the horses had not been fed; every one fumed in a whirlwind of anger, and yet, ἀδέλφι and πατριότη were heard at every pause; the horses seconding the tumult according to their might, by carrying with the utmost clatter the whole establishment over the pavement. Then came a chorus of objurgations and execrations from the Agoyiates, with Dimitri at their head. Such was the scene, when, at its acme, there entered the *corps municipal* in full force at six in the morning, offering their wishes for a good journey, and their consolatory respects.

Unable to devote much time to politeness, we were soon mounted and on the march. Our new friends insisting on accompanying us, we proceeded in a long processionary line through the twisting lanes of the village. The Demarch led the way by the farthest road round, making our progress an event to be remembered by its clattering cry over the disjointed pavement. Dimitri and the baggage clamorously brought up the rear. In

about ten minutes we found ourselves on the hill opposite to that by which we yesterday entered the village, and which lay spread out picturesquely under clumps of garden foliage on the declivities between. It had, in this morning air, a young and healthy appearance. Bright tile roofs peered up, and clean whitewashed fronts, and little peeping belfries tinkled for morning service (the Greek bell is noisy and feeble, and soon gets tired), with a more than ordinary congregation of cypresses. There were betokenings also of some late-settled local potentate, or of some public office, — the Demotic school and the Demarchy itself, all making together a very cheerful little picture, with good presage of a future Greece, though it could boast but little of the past.

I found our municipals, as we rode along, courteous and communicative, and glad to give every information touching the status of their village. In consequence of our yesterday's visit to the Temple, I had no time to make myself acquainted with their schools, tribunals, and other institutions, as I had wished and intended; but there was sufficient evidence of life, to give them good root with promise of moral fruit and foliage. Our fustinella friends eloquently, and I hope accurately, supplied my negligence. The Demarch occasionally rode by my side along the narrow path, though with some effort, and from him I learned that the town contained a Hellenic school, with two Demotic schools for boys and girls,—all in a prosperous condition. It has the usual amount of justices of the peace, custom-house, and other officials: a thriving place, on the whole, it drives a steady commerce with the

coast, old and young looking sharply to their own concerns.* They intended to make great strides if they were only seconded by the Government, and had Peloponnesian ministers in the Cabinet.† In the interval, they do not much trouble themselves with the "shuffling of the cards." They know that some must be up and some down, but they see no necessity for heavy taxes, and cheating "farmers of taxes." Nothing in my orthodoxy was contrary to these opinions, so we agreed very well. In return, I paid a well-merited compliment on the road-making I had seen on my way from the Temple. "Yes," answered the Demarch, "the *Commune* wished to do its best, and was ready with purse and hand, if the Eparch would only undertake to guide it." The Eparch was near, and put in his "plea." He was as ready as the *Commune*, if he only knew how. The Government had sent no one to teach him. In trying to do right, he might be

* In the good year 1856, they are said to have made an enormous sum by the currant crop.

† No Cabinet secures approval in Greece unless each province be represented in it. The Peloponnesians are peculiarly sensitive on this head. An administration, for instance, which should include an undue number of Hydriotes or Roumeliotes, no matter what amount of talent may have been the influencing motive of the appointments, would find little favour in the Peninsula. A clause in the Greek Constitution of 1843, limiting the election of deputies to their own immediate locality, savours of this jealous principle. But four exceptions are there allowed to the common rule, in the persons of M. Mavrocordatos, General Sir Richard Church, General Metaxas, and General Kalergis;—the three first in acknowledgment of their eminent services in the War of Independence, the last, for his conspicuous share in the Revolution of 1843. On that occasion they were together made "citizens of the entire kingdom."—Ed.

doing wrong; so he thought it better not to do anything. He was waiting for the engineer. In this there was some truth, but not *all* the truth: for the road was an old road, wanting only a little cutting down, a little broadening, a little clipping, a parapet here and there, a chasm to be crossed, or a dike to be filled, ordinary superintendence and a certain activity. Then, were there not engineers appointed, by provision of laws duly passed and promulgated in the King's name, copies of which should be found in every nomarchy? Nomarchs were directed by circulars to attend, and ministers to be personally vigilant in seeing their circulars enforced. On the other side, I could not but go half-way with the Eparch, knowing who were the engineers, and how few, as far as provincial works are in question, were *bonâ fide* present, and working realities.

At about two miles from Andritzena we came to a fountain, and allowed our horses to drink, the Agoyiates always heading the operation by lying down, whether necessary or not, on face and hands, at every well. Taking leave of the authorities, who returned to Andritzena, we advanced onwards to the Alpheus. Before parting, however, we informed ourselves carefully of the temper of the river. Much had been told us at Athens of the uncertainty of its waters, even at this period of the year, and how sandbanks and quicksands shifted about, eluding Agoyiates' recollection and the sagacity of even the most veteran. But, on asking whether there was any risk, we were consoled by an outward gesture under the beard, with a long-drawn significant τίποτε, and an assurance from our

Eparch that not a suspicion of treachery existed, —δεν ὑπάρχει καμμία ὑπονοῖα. This I particularly liked, not for the fact only, but for the sort of personal acquaintance, showing an indistinct recollection of his divinity, which appeared to be kept up between the Eparch and the Alpheus. With such a comforting assurance we pressed on, and soon beheld from an eminence the first long gleam of its waters at the base of a line of low hills.

The road grew every moment more woodland as it approached the river; not highly timbered, but agreeably diversified with groups and clumps, and sometimes lengthening into alleys and hedges, good patches of olive and dark masses of valonea filling up the back-ground. We had, like wise campaigners, sent forward a reconnaissance, who reported that the ford was fordable, and the river, notwithstanding the early season, as mansuete as their own oxen. We crossed its gravelly sands without a splash, and wondered, as we looked down from the opposite bank on its dun-coloured stream and patient regularly-measured pace, how it could have been so calumniated. But we had not yet seen it, after its junction with the Ladon and Erymanthos, and in its winter rage.*

We now took the right hand of the river over the bridle-path, which is called the high road of Arkadia, having Heræa immediately above us on a hillock, which place is now represented by the

* Rivers were generally represented by oxen, and only occasionally by serpents, as in the case of the Ladon, where the name is synonymous with ὄφις. The Heræans represented the Alpheus on their coins, but in human shape;—preserved in the copper coins of Severus and Caracalla.

village and khan of Agiajanni. It is interesting, like every town in Greece, from the characteristic expression of the locality. Here are the physical confines between the rough eastern and south-western valleys of the Alpheus, between Arkadia and Elis,—two districts more opposed to each other in men, in institutions and habits, in character and history, than in any natural production. Here, each event is the necessary result of this collocation, whether in reference to their relations to Lakonia, Arkadia, or to the new inhabitants of Elis. In the neighbourhood of the khan are some remains of broad, bold, well-constructed Hellenic walls. A mediæval tradition, superseding the fame of the older Heræa, gives these ruins, in defiance of their perfection, to a King Liodoros: but some rude relics of baths, close to the river, and probably of late Byzantine times, fall more into harmony with the modern story.

The older town or Σολογοργός, which was the head of the nine villages, was probably situated higher up, where the small villages of Agiajanni and Anemoduri lie on a slope between two ravines, amidst low trees. The later town of Heræa was doubtless situated lower down, not far from the khan, and to the west. The deep alluvium, through which the Alpheus flows, occasions very high banks here, as, indeed, the whole way to its mouth; and on one of these may have been the promenade described by Pausanais, — δρόμοι παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ, "close to the river," μυρσίναις καὶ ἄλλοις ἡμέροις διακεχριμένοι δένδροις,—a shrubbery, such as still prevails in this neighbourhood, and to which δένδρα is not inapplicable, considering the height and cha-

racter attained by these shrubs, and the arbutus especially. Here still grows the grape which produces the strong red wine, *τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας πινόμενος ἐξίστησι.** The great stone construction may have been the basement of this terrace, though it does not follow that it formed a walk in the town. The fountain near, now covered in, and the remains of baths close by, are further grounds for this presumption. The baths are of brick mixed with stone, and show patches of plaster, which give them a late period. Within the site of the old town, are dislocated traces of wall and substructions, and of temples. In the *παλαιὰ ἐκκλησία*, all that remains is a large heap of ruins. In the church of Saint John, are fragments of columns made of shell limestone, twenty inches in diameter, the same as at Olympia. The territory of the Heræans — the Heræatis—was not confined to the right bank of the Alpheus: they had extended it much farther on the opposite side, invited thither by the same description of hillocky plain. The Heræatis bounded by the Thelpusians to the north, extended half-way to Andritzena on the south, where the Kynourians held land. The bridge which formerly connected the two sides of the Alpheus under Philip, has long since disappeared, and not been replaced. It must have stood opposite Heræa. On our way from Andritzena we had passed first through the territory of the Kynourians, and then of the Heræans, which constituted a considerable district at that side of the river Alpheus. On the left bank, a little to our right, we left the town of

* Theoph. H. Pl. ix. 20; Athen. p. 31; Plin. xiv. 18, 22.

Alipheræ.* It seems, from its situation between Elis and Arkadia, to have been exposed to constant persecution on both sides. It belonged to the Achæan league, and appropriately possessed a temple of Hercules Μυίαγρος.

Heræa boasted various names,—Ἡραία, Ἡραιεύς, Ἡραεύς, Ἡραεῖος, Ἡρεαοῖος,† capital of the Heræatis, not to be confounded with the Ἡραίαν χωρίον ὀχυρὸν of Diodorus Siculus,‡ for which the reasons are well given in Curtius.§ At the earliest time (50th Olympiad) they were in close alliance with the Eleians, but later the Heræans became the more powerful. Under King Kleombrotos, or Kleonymos, who was acting as guardian of the young Kleomenes, Heræa was colonized contemporaneously with Tegea, from nine smaller places, before the synoikism of Megalopolis, but after the building of Mantinea. Xenophon ‖ describes its laying waste by the Arkadian allied force. It afterwards formed part of the Achæan league, of which the coins of the league are proof enough.

The district Ἡραέιον, not town Ἡραία, was ultimately given back to the Achæans. The name and coin are found also under Severus and Caracalla. The name occurs too in Ptolemy.

It seems, however, to have been connected more with Elis, than with any other state, and indicates the Hera worship common in the lower Alpheus valley. The treaty, offensive and defensive, for one hundred years between the Heræans and the Eleians,

* Gell, iv.; Leake, *Morea*, ii. 71; Ross, 102; Curtius, i. 393; ii. 13.

† Curtius, B. i. p. 394, note 15.

‡ xv. 40.

§ B. i. p. 346.

‖ *Hell.* vi. 5, 22.

existed probably during the time when the Eleians, having extended their rule over Pisatis and Triphylia, were looked to by the Heræans for protection: yet, they do not once assume the name, in the original inscription recording the alliance in old Peloponnesian dialect. Heræa stood at the head of the nine villages scattered up and down on the right bank of the Alpheus, and on the Ladon and Erymanthus, till under Kleombrotos, or one of his followers, as above mentioned, they were combined in one under the name Heræa. This rendered them faithful allies of the Spartans, against the democratic movements of Arkadia — a state of things which continued for two hundred years. Their position gave them great influence over the whole of the valley of the Alpheus: but they were separated from Sparta by Megalopolis, and by the Arkadians, who avenged themselves on the Heræans for their fidelity to that state, by ravaging the town (Ol. 102, 3), after the humiliation of Sparta. The same hapless situation exposed Heræa to frequent attacks during the wars of the Achæan league. As one of the confederation, and the chief place of arms of the Ætolians in this district, it had to suffer from proximity to Elis. Strabo quotes Heræa amongst the ruined towns of Arkadia, but it seems to have recovered; for, as we have seen, Pausanias mentions baths, temples, and the celebrated walk.

Our road led to a small isolated khan immediately over the river, from which spot there was a noble view, upward and downward, of its gravelly bed and shifting sands, its many islands and high alluvial banks. The rich adjoining soil was once,

V. Langavelli A. Severin

VALLEY OF THE ALPHEUS
FROM THE KHAN NEAR HERAEA.

no doubt, the seat of a thick population; and cultivated patches of field still peep through broken evergreen shrubberies and luxuriant brushwood.

On descending into this rich valley, we found a sensible change in the temperature, which became still more observable every step we advanced towards Olympia. The south wind and noonday sun added to the inconvenience. There was no glass to the windows of the khan: but, closing all available shutters, we set ourselves to rest as seriously as was possible in the face of countless flies and other greater annoyances. The whole of this district had laboured under this *mala fama* from time immemorial; and, to calm the torment of flies, it was not thought unworthy to recur to the intervention of the highest and strongest. It was a *dignus vindice nodus* for a Jupiter Tonans, or a lion-killing Hercules. The plague has assuredly not diminished, since the overthrow of their altars: it remains with other evils, such as miasma and fever. Many years ago, on visiting this same country, and sleeping in the open gallery of a khan over Olympia, in the month of June, one of our servants caught a fever of which he died the year after. Paying deference, therefore, and not without reason, to the *genius loci*, we remained tranquilly here until the cooler hours of the afternoon allowed us to remount our steeds.

Our ride lay through a beautifully variegated shrubbery, over gently undulating ground, along the precipitous banks of the winding Alpheus. Within half an hour from the khan, descending to the lower land, we reached the sandy beach of the river Ladon. The Ladon, issuing from the high

mountain recesses of Arkadia, here spreads out into a broad gravelly surface, well marked by valonea and plane-tree: but, despite the epithet, I saw no reeds. With a vigorous rush of green-coloured waters, it throws itself by two or three arms, which form the "Raven's Island," into the Alpheus; and henceforth, the Alpheus assumes its modern name of Rouphia, the Drinker-up, or Exhauster.

One of these branches we passed without much difficulty, but it was a more serious matter with the other, though no rains of consequence had fallen or snows melted on the mountains. The baggage horses, sent on before, had to swim across, and, though our ford was better chosen, the torrent-like river reached the animals' shoulders, and required the aid of our Agoyiates to keep them on their legs and prevent their being carried down to the Alpheus. The ladies managed their dresses with more care and success than the gentlemen could achieve with their costume, and we came rather through the water than over it.

The Ladon still maintains its classic fame, though it is hard to subscribe to the eulogium of Dionys. Perieg.,* who will not allow it to be "second in beauty to any river, barbarian or Hellenic." Its windings are more conspicuous in the plains than in the mountain, from its source near Kleistor: nor do they form its chief characteristic, which, contrary to plain-going rivers, is that of motion and rapidity near its junction with the Alpheus. Ovid, who never saw it, must have heard this

* Page 417.

peculiarity noticed, as well as its sandy and beach-like banks. We have *Ladon, qui citis aquis in mare currit,** and *rapax* † and *arenosi placidum Ladonis ad amnem.*‡ But this again shows the usual flaws of those who describe from hearsay. It does not run *in mare*, and it is anything but *placidum*. It is curious, with these attributes, it should be like the Neda—a nymph-like stream; while Ilissus and Kephissus, small rivulets, nearly disappearing in summer, are dignified into male deities. The floods of 1834 from the Pheneos lake, suggested the necessity of a passage-boat: but it is kept at a point higher up the river, and at an hour's distance from the ford we crossed;—we should, therefore, have made a considerable circuit to have availed ourselves of it. The Ladon on its way receives various tributaries, amongst them Thelpusa, which mythology rather oddly connects with Ladon as her daughter.§

The Ladon had no sooner been passed, than we began to think of its brother, the Erymanthus, which, flowing from the same northern district, runs parallel to it into the Alpheus, at the distance of about three-quarters of an hour. Descending a steep and zigzag path, we found the river running between two high and richly-wooded ranges of hill, with a vigour emulous of the Ladon, but disclosing a lesser mass of waters. With our recent experience, its passage was effected more easily. Opposite, on the right bank, stands the remarkable

* Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 274. † v. 89. ‡ Ovid, *Met.* i. 702.

§ See the interesting connection of Telphusa (also Nymph) with the combined chthonic worship of Ceres. *Δήμητρος Ἐρινύος ἔδεθλον*, Antimachos in Pausanias.—Curtius, B. i. p. 396, note 20.

tumulus, which some assert to be the celebrated monument of Corœbus, the Eleian boundary of Elis, or, according to Eleian version, the limit between it and Arkadia. Near it is noticeable the mouth of another tributary,—the Diagon, already passed in our way from Andritzena. Scrambling as we could up this southern bank, we attained at last a height commanding a bold view of its subject waters. This mount, or tumulus of Corœbus, was well chosen to mark not only the boundary but the character of the two territories. He had gained the first victory in the first Olympic games, and his tumulus thus commemorated the commencement of the Olympian era, and marked the entrance to the same territory. But it is hard to reconcile the actual position of the tumulus here noticed, with the description of Pausanias. The Arkadians, he says, were willing to take the Erymanthus as the boundary: but the Eleians, desirous to get a slice of their territory, or, perhaps, to push their dominions to the foot of the mountains of the Heræatis, contended that the mount of Corœbus, and not the Erymanthus, should be taken as the limit. This would place it neither beside the Erymanthus, nor at the embouchure of the Diagon, but farther on to the east between the Erymanthus and the Ladon. The description of Vischer appears conclusive.* The tumulus was opened in 1846 by the architect Schubert, at the expense of the King of Prussia: but nothing determining the claim was discovered. Some rude remnants of pottery, the half of a helmet of artistic shape, a few bronze

* Page 463.

fragments, and, what is more singular, some charcoal, with bones and teeth of animals, were brought to light. The search, perhaps, was not pursued sufficiently far: still, it proved a resemblance to the burial-places found by Campanari near Albano, and to the excavations made in the so-called Ajax and Achilles tumuli at the Troad. Vischer observed several large squared stones of tufo, surmounted with rows of smaller stones not differing from those used in northern tumuli of Europe. It appeared clear to him, that a portion of the tumulus was natural, and the rest built. This is not unlikely. Many such *mamelons* present themselves in Greece and throughout the East. It is, indeed, the principle of the pyramids. If the tumulus be not of Corœbus, it would be too great a stretch to ascribe it to his time. Bronze ornaments, in general far superior in art to the vase, predominate in all these graves, where Tubalcain seems to have preceded all other artists.

With many conjectures as to the mode in which travellers to the Olympian games got over the road, we continued our route through that same rich pastoral scenery which melts Arkadia into Elis. At the late hour of eight in the evening, we arrived at a khan immediately bordering on the sacred Pisan territory; and from it, with due preparation, like many thousands of pilgrims before us, we were intending to-morrow to enter upon the Altis. The accommodation was none of the best. Some of the rooms served as magazines, and were half-filled with maize: others, again, had no better light than a hole in the roof. But it was said to be healthy and fever-free, and this was a recommendation

of which we had been taught the value by our day's ride through this low country, and by the bad reputation it has acquired amongst the inhabitants as well as travellers. It told at least of rest, and we retired at ten o'clock, full of hope for the morrow.

All this portion of Arkadia possesses a character midway between the dell, glade, and woody upland of early associations, and the rough, bleak Scotch mountain districts of the interior — the familiar type of Arkadia with the ancients. Properly speaking, this part belongs to the champaign district of Elis — a land of steeds, and liturgies, a sacred and effeminate territory, where peace was guaranteed by Panhellenic consent for Panhellenic purposes; but where, notwithstanding, it was often violated.

CHAPTER IV.

OLYMPIA.

MAY 22. — The morning was soft and mellow, now and then a sort of shivering brightness shining on the prodigal profusion of evergreens which lined our road. When we had got on horseback, there was just such a calm of all nature as best befitted Olympia and its festival. The Alpheus to our left formed the main characteristic, whilst on either side stretched an even, thickly-wooded alluvial plain, shut in by a range of mountains, softening in hillocks down to the plain. The whole extent lay covered, sometimes thickly, sometimes scantily, with interchanging brushwood, shrub, and timber. At every step, the landscape becomes more mild and cheerful. The Alpheus, despite the accession of the Ladon and Erymanthus, spreads itself out, unconscious of its importance, with a lazy tranquillity, as though unwilling too soon to leave the delightful region, or desirous to preserve a dignified sobriety in the neighbourhood of Zeus μειλίχιος. It is nearly 180 feet broad, but hardly ever more than five feet deep. Its many meanderings, now lowering, now raising, its banks to the perpendicular, leave large patches of white sand, which gradually grow into staid islands. The small eminences over which we passed, developed by degrees

into hills, covered with a vigorous growth of all kinds of trees and shrubs — plane, oak, arbutus, and rhododendron, with an occasional broad outspreading valonea. Rushing brooks hurried across our path on their way to the Alpheus, interseamed with red fallows or quiet slopes of meadow-land. A noble park it was, on the grandest scale, but without the trace of a proprietor. No village is seen, and very rarely even a single house. No boundary, nor sign of possession, is visible. The soil, of the richest quality, looks half-worked and as if doubtful whether the cultivation will ever be completed. This is attributed to the air being charged with fever, from this month to November: but the fever might answer in turn, that it holds possession because there are none with sufficient energy to dispute its supremacy. The region we now traversed was Pisatis, so often the field of religious contest. Nor was Elis always strong in its weakness, but often likewise the victim of its venerators and protectors. The low, hilly district, covered with hazel and other civilized-looking plantations on the opposite side of the river, is Triphylia.

In the midst of those scattered villages and church-tops, or deep in some misty dell, seen now indistinctly from the right bank, I am inclined to place the country seat of Xenophon—almost the only Greek, ancient or modern, who had a love or understanding of country life, or indeed of nature, and which he describes so much like a true country gentleman, as he was, and so little like a town rhetorician. His beloved Sellus must have been somewhere yonder, though there is hardly a spot about here which might not fit his description. The old Greek

was either nomad or villager, shepherd or agriculturist,—the Pelasgic Doric type seen in Arkadia, Sparta, and Messenia. But this implies no preference for isolated rural dwelling, such as we understand by our country life in England. The Spartans adhered to their scattered village existence, which they extinguished in Messenia, upon grounds already explained. The equality amongst agriculturists also required it. The same result, from a similar cause, is still observable in Lakonia. But the Athenians, and all other Greeks who had engaged in commerce and democracy, were throughout their nature, from beginning to end, of the town —or, to coin a word, towny. If they left the streets, they still did not get thoroughly into the country. The poor never attempted a life uncongenial to the independence of a citizen, and which could not enter into competition with the free and remunerative existence of such cities as Corinth and Athens, with the Peiræus. The rich contented themselves with the luxury or ostentation of a villa, which they seldom saw; and their philosophers were satisfied with their gardens. There are curious details in Diogenes Laertius as to the manner in which these possessions were managed for many successions of teachers — pale imitations of the Pythagorean model: but they tell one nothing of the genius of the country, and what little insight they give us, is redolent only of suburbanism. The material agricultural wants of the rich man, such as the culture of his estate, were supplied by slaves, under an overseer; which amounted almost, as in a multitude of cases at present, to so many armies under their captain, or to so many χωρικοὶ under their ἐπι-

στάτης, differing little from the gangs of workmen in a mine. Nicias had 20,000 slaves at Laureium, —a purely material affair, into which ethical or intellectual considerations did not enter. This—far more than the vague theories, so often set up, of a love amongst the ancients for broader painting and loftier apprehension of nature than we possess —accounts for the almost total absence of descriptive natural scenery in Greek art or philosophy, literature or social existence. They either saw it in mass, or more frequently were blind to its characteristics, and had no associations with it. Their painting was purely sculptural, and in its lowest sense much like etching. To this day, the same causes lead to the same results. I never met a Greek who loved a country life for the sake of the country, or, if material motives did not interfere, who would prefer the wood to the *café*.* They are by nature and habit gregarious, and cannot hold a *tête-à-tête* with themselves. One might pursue this farther, and prove it to be characteristic of all southern existence. The actual state of Italy shows this tendency raised to its highest point. The garden is only the palace stretched out into vegetable architecture—a development good in itself,

* A Greek being asked by a friend of mine whether he was going to Kephissia, answered, Ὄχυ, δεν εἶμαι χωριάτης, εἶμαι πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ, meaning literally, "No, I am no countryman, I am a politician;"—curious also as showing the origin of πολίτης. Greeks cannot conceive the English love of country life, and try to explain it by our houses being always filled with company. It is hopeless to try to undeceive them: this idea is deeply rooted in their minds; unless there was κόσμος—world—transplanted there from London, how could we bear the life? Many Athenian ladies have constantly repeated this theme to me.

well reasoned and well executed: but it is followed by nothing else. Hence all the nature-poetry of Italy is either garden or forest. The park, the park life, the park recollections, and all which that word includes, are not traceable in any one page of thorough Italian poetry. A few occasional touches in Catullus or Lucretius are worth all in Tasso, in Ariosto, or even in Dante; though Dante possessed what would have been true love of nature, had he not lived and died a citizen. Even in the oldest and freshest Greeks, such as Homer, the characteristics are all of the usual positive type, and represent nothing but the absolutely objective. I have no hope of ever seeing a landscape-painter from Greece. All present efforts I have seen are akin to Turkish barbarism — a square newly-built house, with a couple of cypresses at each side and a few seats before their door, is much the modern Greek idea of a landscape.

The effect of this country life and its accompanying love of nature, so deeply engrained in English habit, especially female, accounts, if not for our institutions, at least for their working. Country life is the great conservative balance to the ultra-democratic impulsion of town existence, with its press, club, public meeting, joint-stock propensities, and action in everything. Neither men nor law could stand the wear and tear of such a railway rush onwards, without some such buffers as a 'respite about the month of August, to cut short passion and politics. All then get leave of absence, and are permitted to enter upon themselves, except, indeed, such as have constituencies. A greater extension of this life in ancient Greece, would have

restricted many a revolution. A too great indulgence in it, on the other hand, leads to that apathy which is the cause or precursor of revolution. When the Romans began to retreat from the Senate to the villa, the first concentration of power, whether designed for exertion or for check, commenced. The State was put aside for the family, and the despotisms of Marius and Sylla followed as a matter of course, to end in that of Cæsar. The Lakonism of Xenophon lay at the bottom of his choice, more than he imagined. Impatient of the turbulent and noisy demos, he sought in solitude and independence that protection which no city walls could afford. But this aristocratic sensitiveness was only an accessory. A sentiment of piety, field sports, and healthy love of nature, had the largest share in forming his tastes. Sellus not only comprised a country seat, so rare in Greece, but also a temple, upon which he bestowed much care.

At a distance of an hour and a half from our little khan at Muria, and at about three hours from the old frontier of Arkadia, emerging from the thick shrubbery land we had been travelling through, we entered on a wider reach of the plain. To our right ran a line of rugged hills, the first hill opening into a small and regular valley, terminating with a sort of cone between it and the Alpheus. Farther on, towards the centre, arose the highest and steepest of these eminences, all of which were dotted over with pines and oaks. The plain spread out below, with the Alpheus at its feet, but obviously much altered, and likely further to change its bed, the banks in many places forming a double platform, whilst islands of sand divide the stream

and constantly divert it into new and more winding channels. The plain itself is scantily cultivated: some fields near the centre had been just ploughed up. The trees were principally stunted oak and hazel, with planes near the river: but, during the whole day, we did not meet with one olive-tree. Riding at the base of the centre hill, our guide pointed to a pit lately opened, the site of the famous Temple. Beyond, towards the river, are large remains of a Roman bath. With much difficulty, we scrambled across hedges and over loose earth, in hopes of finding egress to the west: but in vain. Instead, we soon reached the western boundary of the platform—a stream deeply sunk but of scanty waters, covered with low wood on either side, and flowing lazily into the Alpheus. This terminated the whole platform. On the opposite bank rose a low range of hills, by which we became aware that we had traversed the whole length of the "Altis."

The descriptions of Olympia, as may be well imagined, are innumerable. Its fame, its permanence to a late period, the ease with which it can be visited, and the beauty of the situation, were all early inducements to travellers: and yet, from the nature of the soil, its geographical position, and the peculiar character of the sanctuary, few places in Greece have been so insufficiently explored, or offer greater probabilities of interesting discovery and valuable acquisitions to archæology and art. Nothing less than a well-conceived, embracing system, steadily carried out by adequate authority, can effect such a result. Many propositions have been made to the Greek Government,

but, from one cause or another, they have all proved unsuccessful. Until something like it be effected, however, the traveller must content himself with a sort of map-like outline.

Most ancient sites in Greece contain a large number of antique treasures in the shape of statue, inscription, vase, coin, or gem. The greater number lie of course in the neighbourhood of ancient sanctuaries, such as this of Olympia and Delos. Though so largely plundered by Greek and Roman, Pausanias found them still rich in all varieties: moreover, the greater part of those he described were not of bronze, but of marble, and could not be melted down or carried away. Olympia possesses not only those advantages, but many of its own. Its statues literally formed an army, and it was, besides, the place where innumerable public documents were deposited, and offerings of every kind used to be made. The soil, too, is alluvial and shifting. The windings of the Alpheus, as seen in 1829, and as it flowed in former days, are shown in Curtius' map. From this it is clear, that its bed has been carried in upon the Olympian plain by a large curve, cutting the ancient platform, as it proceeded, precisely at that part which was most covered with objects of art. But it is believed that the Alpheus has never been dragged like the Tiber, for a statue of Belisarius, in search of real or supposed treasures; and whatever has been missed, probably remains there still. The eye of Winkleman had been long cast that way. He expressed his hopes and wishes, however, in vain. The researches of the French were limited and soon interrupted. They directed their efforts at once to the principal

point, the site of the Temple; but, having ascertained this, they desisted. Prince Pückler Muskau proposed to take the whole plain from the Government, on condition of his applying yearly a certain sum for excavations, the products of which should not be abstracted from Greece, but deposited in a museum, which he offered to build upon the spot. There could be no more appropriate site for these objects, and it would be a good principle to establish all over Greece. Ross, in a proposal dated 4th May, 1853, was equally unsuccessful—a matter, perhaps, of no great regret under present circumstances. The Prussian Government made a more formal proposition, but on less advantageous terms. They required, that a proportion of such antiquities as might be found should be transferred to the Museum at Berlin. It is not surprising, therefore, that this offer was declined. Later, an attempt was made to raise subscriptions in Europe by Ross, on the plan he himself had applied with such good result to the excavation of the Heræum near Mycenæ, and towards which he contributed £300. But this too had no corresponding effect. The terms are given in an appendix to his monograph on the Pnyx. It is to be regretted that all these efforts should have proved fruitless, and that the same spirit should now preside here as formerly at Naples, hiding what ought to be made the common possession of Europe. This jealousy or negligence is not confined to Olympia. It is conspicuous at Athens, Eleusis, and Delphi. In none of those places have excavations of any moment been made: on the contrary, a studious disregard and discou-

ragement of all inquiry is obvious,* and, in every one of them the old town has been sealed up by the newly-constructed modern village. This in itself is a great evil, like building Portici on Herculaneum

* Since the above was written, greater activity has prevailed: yet all undertakings of the kind, as heretofore, are unaided by the government. At Delphi, the French have been foremost, and in 1861 they discovered an extraordinary number of inscriptions—amounting to a thousand it was said—on the front of the Temple platform. Their labours, however, came to a standstill in the autumn of that year, shortly before Sir Thomas Wyse visited Delphi. Indeed, further progress at Delphi is almost impossible, as the peasants have, through the carelessness of the authorities, rebuilt their village over every available corner of the ruins, and make fabulous demands whenever the question of removal or compensation is mooted. Nothing else has been attempted in the provinces: but the excavations at Athens have greatly advanced, within the last few years. The Archæological Society of Greece has chiefly borne the expense, and the works have been under the superintendence of the late well-known M. Pittakis, so many years Inspector of Antiquities and of the Akropolis, and whose zealous devotion to everything connected with antiquity cannot be easily replaced. Besides the clearing out of the Theatre of Herodes Atticus, a large part of the Bouleuterion and neighbouring buildings has been opened up, although situated in the worst quarter of the town, consisting altogether of Albanian cottages. Moreover, the Akropolis itself has been laid bare to the very rock. Its picturesque beauty cannot be said to have gained in consequence: but, on the other hand, every site of note is ascertained—such, for instance, as that of the Minerva Promachos—and little more information need be there expected. The most important excavation, however, is that of the Dionysiac Theatre, or Theatre of Bacchus, one of the most interesting spots in Greece. It was undertaken partly at his own expense, in the spring of 1862, by the learned German M. Strack, author of numerous monographs on this theatre, and who was then occupied on a larger work upon the subject. Particularly anxious to place beyond doubt the existence of the central stairs represented in the famous coin of this theatre, he, unlike previous explorers, commenced his diggings right in the middle of the site. A few days' labour rewarded him, by the dis-

without the excuse which that had: but it has the further bad consequence, that the materials of antiquity, each stone of which is precious, beyond price, are wantonly taken off, or worse,—barbarously disfigured for the requirements of vulgar village existence. The plea is, that they are better, thus linked to the soil, which has so long preserved them from the barbarian, than exposed to the curiosity and inordinate archæological appetite of sharpers, and that there is no use commencing their resurrection until a proper dwelling has been prepared for their reception. No museum exists at Athens, and present discovery and acquisition must now be consigned pell-mell to the lumber-room, to casinos, cellars, private houses, to the doubtful faith of ignorant or apathetic ministers; and, ultimately, all may be lost. But this is only a new argument for the prompt erection of a museum, in addition to so many other reasons pressed upon the Greek Government, which takes an uncertain position to be borne out by fact. The indolence, which has so

covery of the stairs exactly in the position indicated on the coin. Continuing his excavations downwards, he at last came to the orchestra, which displayed the marble chairs which the inscriptions on them show to have been assigned to the Archons and to the Priests of Bacchus and various divinities, and which are in an almost perfect state. Originally there must have been sixty-seven of these marble thrones or seats—thirty-three on each side of that of the Priest of Bacchus in the centre. Fifty-three of the thrones in the front row have been found, and of these forty-four were appropriated to priests and officers of temples, and nine to the civil magistrates. Besides these there still exist seven thrones in higher rows. Very interesting discoveries have also been made at the Aghia Triadha at Athens. The sculpture of the monument of Deigilaos, remarkable from its early date, B.C. 394, and other detached pieces of the best period, have been brought to light.—Ed.

long left the Peiræus and its adjacencies without a regular system of investigation, has not protected either its topography or its antiquities from the disturbance and the wholesale pilfering which took place a few years since: nor has Corinth, any more than Argos, been able to retain her thousand vases in her earth, owing to the complete indifference to such inquiries on the part of the Government. The fact is, private speculation will not wait for public permission, and Government should have a police to mount guard, as well as to issue prohibition, if they would prevent the opening of tombs. The laws themselves, intended for protection, are the strongest stimulant to destruction or concealment. If diversion of her rightful property from the soil of Greece were a transfer to at least a European museum, that would be some palliation for these sacrilegious spoliations: but, unhappily, the motive which excites this commerce is of a vulgar order — mere love of gain. The vase or bust is not conveyed to the public hall, but to the private boudoir or to the shop-window; and by this dislocation from its original site, it loses all value, quite as much as a letter out of place, or a plan or view without its designation.*

* Amongst the numerous papers drawn up by Sir Thomas Wyse, at the request of the Greek Government, and for their guidance, was a very elaborate one, about 1856, on the formation of a museum at Athens. He held the opinion, and omitted no opportunity of impressing it on all Greeks, that the preservation of their antiquities is a duty they owe to Europe quite as much as to their own country. Though they have undoubted right to retain them on their soil, he thought they should consider themselves as guardians of these treasures, which in one sense are the common property of the civilized world. A strenuous upholder of the law forbid-

The earliest describer of Olympia in detail is Pausanias: but, though conscientious and desirous to make the most of everything, he fails in his description, from his total want of intelligible clas-

ding the abstraction of works of art from Greece, he was pained, as seen in the text, by all such depredations; but the negligence of the authorities caused him even greater concern. The above-named memorandum, though highly praised by one of the most competent judges at home, shared the fate of all its brethren in Greece, and was thrown aside, without, it was said, having even been read by a single Greek official. In fact, all Sir Thomas Wyse's disinterested efforts for the advancement of Greece proved mere waste of time in regard to the Government, no matter who its members. Not so, however, in the moral influence obtained, and in the earnest desire for improvement he aroused amongst the more serious-minded portion of the community, with whom he was in constant communication. Of the universal esteem he thereby enjoyed, and the high respect shown to his memory by every Greek, this is not the place to speak, deeply though it be felt. Suffice to state, that the publication of his various instructive papers, translated into Greek, was urged upon him more than once, as they were virtually lost to Greece through sheer neglect of its Government. His official position, however, would scarcely admit of such a course. In the question of the museum, want of funds was sometimes pleaded by ministers as an excuse. But, had the will been there, the means would have doubtless been forthcoming. Proper representations would have easily induced the wealthy M. Sinas, of Vienna, to have applied the unlimited sum he has destined for the Academy at Athens to the more essential purpose of a museum. As to this academy, it is idle to dwell on its utter uselessness, as even those professors, who have the ambition to be appointed academicians, acknowledge that such an institution is unsuited to the wants of Athens at least for another half-century to come; but it is painful that such generosity should be so ill applied, when a really useful purpose might have been attained in its stead. Moreover, the most eligible spot for a museum has been usurped by this new building. A vacant space remained beside the University, as though in waiting for its satellite—a museum: but this exactly is the ground chosen for the Sinas Academy. The building in itself promises to be beautiful, and the internal deco-

sification. The same confusion occurs, and from the same causes, in his detailed account of the treasures of the Parthenon. Clearness was not his characteristic, and here he did not even use the helps in his way. The sanctuaries and treasuries of each nation, had each its guide; but he appears to have avoided visiting them, or to have "done the sights" by running in his enthusiasm from one subject to another. "One-fifth," says Curtius, "of his whole work is occupied with Olympia, and, perhaps, in no portion is he more unintelligible. He recurs, under different guidance, to the same

rations are to harmonize with the exterior. A new quarry was opened at Pentelicus in 1862 to supply the marble, and it is proposed to erect the whole without cement, after the manner of the ancients. That expense is no consideration, may be inferred from the fact that 500,000 drachmæ, or about £20,000, were stated to have been laid out on the walls, when not six feet above ground. Yet the very perfection aimed at will have the drawback of extinguishing the University close by, which is in size and position so well suited to the wants of Greece. Sir Thomas Wyse never ceased lamenting the fatal choice of this site, and what he considered the uselessness of a building, which, if rightly applied, might have proved a lasting benefit to Greece, and a noble monument to the munificent founder. One consolation alone remained, in the abandonment of M. Sinas' original plan of placing the Academy at the Peiræus entrance to Athens, where it would have painfully interfered with the general effect of the Temple of Theseus and the Akropolis as seen from this point. The building was interrupted for more than a year after King Otho's expulsion, but was recommenced on King George's arrival. It will take years, however, to finish it. The plan of the Academy is by M. Hansen, a Dane, the well-known architect of the new and beautiful arsenal at Vienna, and it is carried out under his direction by a young German named Ziller.

A decree was passed last year by the National Assembly for the erection of a small museum near the Akropolis; but it will be a feeble substitute for the one suggested, even if it ever be carried out, which is far from certain.—Ed.

building; and in this hurry we lose or entangle the thread, at no time simple, of his Periegesis."

The earlier travellers, who noticed this remarkable site, are given by Rathgeber in his "Olympeion in Elis." * These have been followed by the moderns, only at intervals. The first work of any pretension, is Stanhope's "Olympia" (1824), the first which contains views or plans of Olympia.† These labours have been followed by those of Dodwell, Gell, Leake, the French, and Prince Pückler Muskau. The "Rapport" of the French excavation, 10th May, 1829, by Dubois, is given by Schorwarth.‡ Raoul Rochette also furnishes an account of its results.§ The most comprehensive examination, however, is that of Leake.‖ Curtius, besides a very intelligible notice in his Peloponnesian travels, has published a monograph.¶ Pückler Muskau, struck by the beauty of the site, and the probability that the river, which has so often changed its course, conceals many treasures of art, visited and described the plain with a view to attract the attention of the Government. Ross, also, entered into the same field; but, as remarked above, nothing has yet been done.

The Pelasgic worship of Zeus, common to Elis and Messenia, established a sanctuary here at an early period, as well as at Ithome. Both were

* *Hall. Encyclopædia*, p. 234.

† *Olympia, or Topography illustrative of the actual state of the Plain of Olympia.* By John Spencer Stanhope. London: 1824.

‡ *Bulletin*, 1832, p. 17.

§ Rapport de M. Raoul Rochette, lu à la séance publique, le 30 avril 1831, dans 1 vol. de l'Expédition.

‖ Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 4—108. ¶ *Olympia*, 1832.

anterior to town or settlement, and consisted merely of the open altar, the alsos, and the temenos, without temple. This consecrated a particular locality, and gradually attracted to it pilgrimages, and at last an annual panegyris. The panegyris, in its turn, added to its religious objects others, successively, of a social, political, or commercial character. Such has been the march of all these institutions in ancient times; and such, dictated by natural or traditional conditions, is their natural progress in Greece down to the present time. A spring obtains celebrity for its medicinal qualities. A church is erected near, and a festival follows the church: the festival gathers multitudes, first from the neighbourhood, then from a distance: and after the liturgy of the day is over, as it usually is at an early hour in Greece, dances follow, and then singing. Games are seldom an accompaniment, except on a very limited scale and amongst the very young: but pedlars and other itinerants hardly ever neglect the opportunity, and, in some instances, as at Tinos, during the feasts of the Εὐαγγελίστρια and Κοίμησις, — the Annunciation and Assumption—there is a regular fair. Indeed, the very name, panegyris — literally an assemblage,—equally applicable to worldly as to religious purposes, would imply this.* In former days especially, the religious ceremony was usually accompanied with a brief outline of the life of the saint; and this practice, though rare in the East, is maintained in some places where there is sufficient talent and knowledge for the purpose. Hence

* Panegyris is the word used to this day for the annual feast of every church in Greece.—Ed.

our word "panegyric"—a laudatory discourse to the panegyris — a panegyrikon. This was an old term for a similar use, of which Socrates gave, perhaps, the most decidedly formal example.

With these resemblances in view, the original and gradual growth of Olympia's fame become intelligible.

The first object of veneration here was the simple open altar, made, however, in a peculiar manner, and not of stone, but of a heap of ashes, the residue of former sacrifices—probably still ruder and much more ancient — which in time became kneaded into a solid tumulus, surmounted by the sacrificial stone. The recollection of this was kept up long after, by the water drawn for the purpose of consolidating the earth on the mound, from the sacred Alpheus near.

This simple worship soon attracted many accessories around it, supported by their respective legends: yet the majority of these legends bear marks of late introduction, where the temple had superseded the altar, and the limited alsos obtained additions arising out of the panegyris, with its foreign visitors and games.

The altar was not sufficient. Within the alsos a sacred spot was believed to have been miraculously designated, the thunderbolt having split the earth asunder, thus marking out the site of the temple and oracle. The Hellenes flocked from all sides, bringing with them their ceremonies and games, as they did to Delphi and elsewhere. Games had been the usual accompaniments of funerals from the earliest ages. It was an heroic symbolism, a reflection of the excellencies and glories of

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the defunct : but they gradually extended to all festivals. At no place were they more natural than at Olympia. Hercules and his labours were especially connected with Zeus, his father, and the Peloponnesus had been the scene, if not of all his achievements, at least of most of them. In process of time, these games absorbed all other considerations : they extinguished the Oracle. The Temple of Zeus became the seat of the god, presiding over the destinies of Panhellenism—ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε — and the panegyris grew into the panhellenic convention, the assemblage of all men and things Greek.

It is natural to suppose that this temple, superseding the Pelasgic altar, was coeval with the first dawnings of Hellenic, and especially of Dorian, civilization. Not unlikely, some such structure was erected while Pisa was still in the fulness of her power, sharing with Elis the management and privileges of the sanctuary and festival. On the fall of Pisa, Olympia lapsed exclusively into the hands of the Eleians ; and the plunder of the Pisan war was applied, not less on political than on religious grounds, to the restoration and augmentation of the glories of Olympia. A new temple, doubtless on the same site, was proposed, and its construction confided to a native artist, Lidon : it was commenced in the 50th Olympiad. Four-and-thirty Olympiads, or 136 years later, it still remained unfinished, probably on the same principle which delayed the Temple of Zeus at Athens, the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the Parthenon itself. The old site was enlarged, and a new Olympeion was determined on. The supremacy which Athens

had attained in all departments of art at this period, naturally pointed out her school as the first in Greece. Architects, sculptors, painters, were invited to Olympia, and the whole management of the temple was entrusted liberally to their skill, under the direction of Phidias. From their joint labours arose the building which bore the name of the Great Temple, and which was, in fact, the greatest in the Peloponnesus after that of Athena in Tegea. Its statue has been considered as the most perfect of Hellenic, or of plastic art generally, both in character and execution, the world has ever seen.

It will be easily imagined, that such a centre of all that was most sacred to the Greek religious mind, would soon rise into celebrity: but none except those penetrated with the effect of Greek predilections and institutions on Greek temperament, can sufficiently understand the veneration and admiration with which all belonging to Olympia was soon regarded. Its festival marked the Greek era, and became what the foundation of Rome "ab urbe condita," was to Rome. The Temple was the military pillar of the Capitol, or our Greenwich Observatory. It marked distances throughout the Peloponnesus and Greece. But the public games, and the Greek enthusiasm for these exercises and glories, give the real key. No honour, no happiness was esteemed worthy of a place by their side. To win at these games, was equivalent to the highest success, military or civil, in any service or state in Greece. The myth of Diagoras and his sons—"Die, for thou canst not go to heaven"—was symbolic of the whole Greek community.

However diverse their stage of civilization, their political machinery and tendency, or their locality, in this one measure of excellence they all for a long while agreed. The hyperbole of Pindar is not extreme, when examined by the light of cotemporary Greek life and history. The triumphs and displays of Alcibiades, prompted by personal vanity, were held to reflect glory on his country, and not by him only, but by the country itself. It were difficult to say, whether Hiero could have considered his regal honours complete in Greek eyes without his Olympian success, or whether the famous athlete of Megara was not alone sufficient to ennoble a village, and to place his own state on a level with the highest in Greece. The public entertainment on the Prytaneium to the Olympian victor, was what Socrates designated as the highest reward even for a whole life spent like his in enlightening his countrymen. The conception running through all this, is, the traditional heroic character of these exercises, and the dogma in Greek philosophy, which unites external and internal strength and beauty, and to which the Olympian games were the initiatory principle—as afterwards they furnished the excuse for all gymnastic exercises. But the institution degenerated: the training of the athlete, like that of the modern jockey, soon became special, and did not imply corresponding formation for the duties of the mariner or soldier. Euripides sharply sets forth the feeling prevalent in his age on the abuse. But traces may be noticed—if Diogenes Laertius can be trusted in representing a fact or an opinion as of his age, and not as of his own—in the manner in which Solon

endeavoured to restrain,* amongst the sumptuary enactments, the expenses and extravagance already common in preparing for these displays. The passion, however, was too strong to be put down by lawgiver or moralist; and, throughout all Greece, and subsequently in Rome and Constantinople, the gymnasium and palæstra prevailed down to the latest period. To this may be ascribed the tolerance with which the chief seats of these games were regarded. Delphi, the Isthmus, and Nemea, carried on, far into Christianity, a sort of existence on sufferance, in spite of their idolatry.†

* See the estimation in which Solon held athletes in Diog. Laertius (*Vita Solon.* l. i. c. ii. viii.), a very remarkable passage, if genuine. The sentiments,—*ἀθληταὶ δὲ καὶ* (in contradistinction to the solemn and public servants) *ἀσκούμενοι, πολυδάπανοι καὶ νικῶντες ἐπίσημοι· καὶ στεφανοῦνται κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἀνταγονίστων·* the reference to Euripides, with which it closes, would seem to apply or borrow it from his age—*γέροντές τε γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην*—their known censurer. See fragments :—

Τρίβωνος ἐκλείποντες, οἴχονται κρόκας.

The conclusion, however, may be true — *ὅπερ συνιδὼν ὁ Σόλων* (amongst other sumptuary laws) *μετρίως αὐτοὺς ἀπεδέξατο.*

† A festival, said to have a Pagan origin, still flourishes at Athens, though annually anathematized by the Greek Archbishop of Attica. Being held near the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter, it is called the "Feast of the Columns," and as such has been often described by travellers. It takes place on the first Monday of Lent, in what the Greeks style the "onion week;" because, during those first eight days, the use of "white meats" and *lacticinia*, such as milk, butter, and cheese, is strictly forbidden. Occurring at this season and on this spot, the celebration is believed to be the descendant of the Dionysiac festival, which is known to have been continued here down to the sixth century. For this reason, regardless of its present Christian colour, the Greek Church fiercely opposes it. Its assumed gaiety is considered an additional objection, although, in real fact, the amusements are of a negative kind. No opposition, however, has hitherto availed. The whole

The Temple was tolerated for the sake of the Course. In the second century, we meet mention of the descendants of the sacred family of the Ianidæ celebrated by Pindar. Pausanias found the temples

lower order of Athens stream forth, early on Monday morning, to the slopes surrounding the platform of the temple, and to those which rise on the other side of the Ilissus near the Stadium. Here they settle into groups, and each family setting out its fasting fare, inaugurates the Lent in the most quiet and orderly manner. When the weather is fine, the effect is picturesque and unique. The scene resembles an enormous collection of picnic parties dressed in the brighest colours, and, on whichever side you behold it, set in the most beautiful framework imaginable. At two o'clock the higher class come out on foot or in carriage, and mix with the crowd. The lentil food forms the only drawback, many a group being unapproachable from the whiffs of garlic flying around them. In former years their Majesties would appear on horseback, and, after making a tour of the hills, their departure was the signal for a general move. The only attempt at gaiety consists in a few groups of men dancing in the monotonous circle, in which the women rarely join. But in this, as in every other respect, there has been a great falling off, and the "oldest inhabitants" consider the glory of the feast to belong to the past. Its crowning point seems to have been in 1844, the year after the famous Revolution for the Constitution, and when General Kalergis gave here a banquet to the King and Queen. Even within recent memory, it has greatly declined. The handsome and dignified costumes are disappearing every year to make place for the French fashions, so unbecoming to Greek physiognomy in man or woman. Athens has completely lost the charm of simplicity, and, amongst other traditions, "civilization" disdains these national festivals. What would not yield to their Church in this, as in most else, is gradually vanishing under the "spirit of progress"! To the artist and archæologist the loss is immense, and the people seem to gain nothing by the change. If Athenian papers speak truly, even the countenance of royalty has been withdrawn from the "beautiful columns." They stated last spring, that King George made an excursion to Pentelicus purposely, on the day of the feast, to avoid being present. A similar *fête* takes place, at the Temple of Theseus, on Easter Tuesday. Old Athenians, like the late M. Pittakis, used to describe a dance seen there every year before the War of Inde-

and monuments in their full glory. The statue of Phidias was carried off to Constantinople, and it remained there for many years, until it at last perished in one of those conflagrations which are the perpetual scourge of that city; and, though seclusion and depopulation went far to draw out Pagan life beyond its usual period, the worship of Poseidon at Tænarus, or Cape Matapan, lived on into the eighth century. It must, however, be remembered that Olympia cannot be classed in that category. It is of a character opposite to that of Lakonia, and was at all times unusually accessible from all parts of Greece.

Too much cannot be said of the beauty and pacific symbolism of Olympia. It is woodland, park-like splendour, and, one might say, garden industry combined. But it may be questioned whether the Greek perceived in it more than its topographical advantages in regard to contiguous Peloponnesian states, and the security it offered from all sudden fortress organization or ambush. Lovers of nature could not of themselves have chosen, for the enjoyment of its scenery, the most burning period of the summer, when every plague, especially during the celebration of the games, must have reached its acme. The games began in the month of July. For the most part, the performers were naked — one of the grounds for the rigid exclusion of women, who very ungallantly are classed by Ælian with the plague of flies. The

pendence, in every particular corresponding with the true Pyrrhic. This has vanished even from the memory of modern Athens. Both festivals are well described by Miss Bremer in her "Greece and the Greeks."—Ed.

choice of this season, however, may have been unavoidable, if founded on tradition or sought as a test of hardihood. The force of the sun may also have been unfelt, as it is, from early habit, at the present day, by the majority of Greeks. As the Egyptian skull, ever uncovered, was an object of surprise to the Persian, whose head was always turbaned, so are Greek children playing out of doors uncapped (as I have frequently seen them in July), to Europeans, who heap handkerchiefs and thick towels over their hats, and protect themselves furthermore by white umbrellas, lined with green, in the utterly vain hope of averting the fierce rays of a July or August meridian sun. The ancient Greeks are supposed to have used oil, as a protection against this annoyance and against that of the flies, though many believe the oil to have been merely a preparation for wrestling. There was a general belief that it promoted suppleness; and it was also the type, the *sine quâ non*, of a polished toilet, as *αὐχμηρός*, or *dry*, signified the parched, the dirty, the squalid. The Nubians use grease to this day: they often stream with it. All Orientals indulged in oil, and the more perfumed they were, the more effeminate and luxurious. Hence the answer of Aristippus, to the *τίς χωρίζει* of one of his rivals. On grounds such as these, it is no wonder that the olive was cultivated and held sacred. It was the natural symbol of these games and of all peaceful pursuits.*

* See Ps. ciii. 15—*τοῦ ἱλαρῦναι πρόσωπον ἐν ἐλαίῳ*,—here it is classed as a necessary with wine and bread; and again, Ps. cxxxii. 2, where it is *μύρον*, and flowing from the head over the beard of Aaron and to the hem of his garment—the true oriental application.

The plain of Olympia is not the site of an ancient town, but of an aggregation of sanctuaries and their accompaniments,—not unlike Delphi and Epidaurus: and the investigator's task is to find the centre temple, round which others can be with propriety grouped. This has been facilitated by recent researches.

No less than six roads led to Olympia in olden times:—1. the high road from the interior of the Peninsula along the valley of Olympia; 2. the road through the valley of Parthenia from Thelpusa, joining the high road near Harpina; 3. the mountain road, and 4. the valley road to Elis (the mountain road started from Mount Kronion to the north, whilst the valley road was called the "holy road" of the Eleians, and is still used); 5. the road from the mouth of the Alpheus, where small boats were often employed, as they still are, though as often replaced by rafts, when wood is the cargo; 6. the roads from Lakonia and Messenia, which formerly joined near Skillus. The first of these roads is the one we took from Heræa, and which enters the Pisatis territory on the right bank of the Erymanthus. It formerly held a more northerly direction over the Sauros range, somewhat above the valley.

On entering Olympia by this road from Heræa, the first object of notice is an eminence, which appears to bar entrance into the plain. At the distance of about six stadia it forms a small conical akropolis-like hill, which travellers identify with the limehill mentioned by Pausanias, and with the ancient site of "venerable Pisa:" * but the site is

* Chilon, the Lacedæmonian wise man, died of joy at Pisa,—
τὸν υἱὸν ὀλυμπιονίκην ἀσπασάμενος πυγμῆς· ἔπαθε δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβολή

hardly more difficult to detect, than even the character of the ancient city. Strabo is puzzled, whether to trace the etymology of the Pisatis to the fountains of the city, or to the city itself, shown to him upon a height between the two ranges on the right and left banks, called Olympus and Ossa,* and which pretty well agrees with this isolated hill. The distance also tallies with the six stadia of Pindar.† Polemon even uses (p. 50) the phrase ὑπὸ ὑψηλῶν ὄχθων περιεχόμενος, which exactly suits its appearance, and seems to be the usual characteristic of the hillocks and hills around the indentures. Κόλποι, κόλποι ἐνδόξου Πίσας is equally characteristic of the bases of the majority of these hills, and particularly of the whole range of Olympus, as may be seen in the recesses formed by the Stadium and by the prominence of Kronion. The *depressa* Pisa of Statius‡ cannot refer to the town or hill, but to the Pisatis generally,—the mother of the Italian Pisa, in ancient tradition. Like Andromache's mimic Troy, the daughter still shows some of the features of the parent. The Alpheus sweeps into a living Arno, and Kronion, or Olympus rather, may be represented by the mountain which suggested the line

"Per che i Pisani veder Lucca non ponno."

τε χαρᾶς ἀσθενείᾳ πολυετεές. He was buried with honour.—(*Chilo.* Diog. Laert. l. i. c. ii. 5.)

* This artificial topographical antithesis of Ossa and Olympus, unconnected with any local myth, betrays a Thessalian origin, and suggests the probability of other traditions and observances, dogmatic and liturgical, from the same quarter.

Olympus, as a name, abounds in Greece. Besides the Macedonian, there are many mountains called so in the Peloponnesus; and even an obscure summit of Hymettus is thus designated.

† *Ol.* xi. 51. ‡ Stat. *Theb.* iv.

This point marks the utmost eastern boundary, as the Kladeus does the western; and the plain between contains the whole site of Olympia, as well the profane, as the more sacred, comprised in the "Altis." The centre point of the Altis is the Great Temple. Round this all the other portions must be grouped. Thither, therefore, the traveller hastens. It forms the key to the whole arrangement.

To the south-west of the range of hills on our right, called generally Olympus, as that opposite is called Ossa, is an excavation, already noticed, made by the French. From the fragments discovered, the site of the Temple is identified without any doubt. The excavation is not deep, being little more than a few feet below the surface, and now overgrown again with bramble and brushwood. The drums of large and massive but coarse pillars, composed of a rough shelly limestone of the country, peep through the soil: some other small fragments are also visible. The French excavators, in the short period of the two months of May and June, 1829, not only found the site and proportions of the Temple, but also some important pieces of its sculpture. Few temples in Greece have, therefore, better data for their reconstruction.

The stone is sand-colour, full of mussel-holes, harsh and ill-suited to artistic purposes, and acceptable only from the circumstance of its being found in the neighbourhood. Pausanias describes the quality as πῶρος. Its defects are concealed, as in the Ægina pillars, by a fine stucco, which must have been admirably worked, to justify the ancient suggestive comparison with Parian marble. The practice was Egyptian, sandstone being abundant

and easily worked in Egypt, whilst they only applied granite there to the most important and sacred monuments, such as obelisks and monolithic sanctuaries. White and other marbles being rare in that country, it was necessary to recur very frequently to stone. The painting customary in Egyptian temples rendered stucco natural; and, at times, it was adopted to obliterate former hieroglyphics, and to substitute more recent for former names, either of kings or dynasties. Thus at Thebes there are, in some instances, not less than three layers one over the other. But these causes do not operate in Greece, and the adoption of stone here at Olympia must be set down to simple economy and difficulty of carriage. Yet this does not wholly explain the anomaly. Whilst the pillars of the pronaos — and the most conspicuous portion, the frontispiece of the temple—were thus built of secondary and sham materials, the stylobate and steps were formed of a fine-grained limestone, not unlike the Phigaleian. The interior, as well as roof and sculpture, was of course of marble. In these particulars, the Olympian Temple did not differ from most temples in Greece, and in the colonies, as at Agrigentum, Selinus, and Pæstum: though it is questionable whether stucco was used in these instances even, with the most porous stone. Hence the wonder so often expressed, at the marble temples of Athens.

The proportions and members of this Great Temple were grand and simple. The conjecture of previous travellers, that it was a hexastyle, has been confirmed by the French Commission. Yet, the measurements given in their Report, do not quite

coincide with those of Pausanias: the discrepancy, however, may be accounted for, by the difficulty of precisely establishing the proportion of ancient and modern measures, and perhaps by divergence at the starting-point. Pausanias gives the length at 230 feet, the breadth at 95; the Commission gives the length at 205 Parisian feet, the breadth at 93. The height is made out, by taking the altitude of the pillar at five (lower) diameters, and adopting for the entablature and its members, and for the pediment, the measurements of the Temple of Theseus, in preference to those of the Parthenon. The total of these measurements is 68 feet, when taken from the highest step to the apex or aeton of the pediment, which agrees again with that of the tradition. The Temple is of the class ἑκατόμπεδον, or the hundred-footed.*

Pausanias, on entering the Temple, first notices the sculpture: but these are subjects for after-consideration. He passes through the pronaos, with its two pillars in antis, and thence into the body of the Temple. The naos was divided by a double row of pillars, according to the account of Pausanias; and, over these, ran a second row, through which there was an approach to the statue of the god. The words of the text are precise: ἑστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες, καὶ στοαί τε ἔνδον ὑπερῷοι καὶ πρόσοδος δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστι.† This is in analogy with the great Temple of Jupiter at Syracuse, and very markedly so with that of Pæstum. The motive appears to be triple;—1. the construction of the Temple, where the roof is open (and, where a

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. x. † Id., *ibid.*

double row of pillars occurs, we may presume the Temple to have been hypæthral); 2. as affording an approach to the upper part of the statue, for the words of Pausanias apply to the higher gallery or stoa, the aisle below hardly justifying the name; and, 3. for the convenience of spectators, on the distribution of the olive branches to the victors, at the base of the statue. We have now no means of judging to what order belonged the second row of pillars, or indeed of what it consisted. This gallery, so to speak, was an early expedient, and was also one of the latest retained in ancient architecture. It became distinctive in the basilica, and led to the triforium, and later to the clerestory, in the Gothic. The roof of the Temple was reached by a circular staircase, which seems, from the place it holds in the text, to have been connected with the upper gallery: for immediately after the above quotation, comes, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος (a road on high) ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιά. This is illustrated by the staircases in Byzantine churches to this day; and one of the kind is still existing at St. Nicodemus, lately restored by the Russians, at Athens.

The naos had also an opisthodomos, but for what use, is not quite clear. The peristyle was simple. The roof was laid in marble tiles, like that of the Parthenon — an apparently recent invention at that period. Pausanias, who says nothing as to whether the Temple was hypæthral or not, lays much stress upon the application of marble to the tiling. The invention is ascribed to Byses the Naxian, so early as the time of Alyattes the Lydian, and Astyages the Mede. It is remarkable that these tiles came from Pentelicus, and the more

so, as no marble for other architectural purposes proceeded from the same quarter. Probably, a manufacture of the kind was there established for the supply of strangers, in the same way as the Athenians of the present day, with their admirable Colias clay so near as Phalerum, get their pottery from the manufactory at Oreos, in Eubœa.*

The Temple, as far as regards architectural merit, was distinguished by its grave and broad dignity. It relied on mass and simplicity. The architect was Libon, a native—ἐπιχώριος—which shows how far the art had advanced into the country, and yet contrived to preserve its archaism, in face of the refinements of the later school of Athens. But the architecture was only a framework. The great object of the Temple was, next to the religious and sanctuary sentiment, the impressive outspeaking of all that bore on the legendary history, and the real objects, of the games and their principal events. In this particular, the plastic and pictorial ornamentation of a Greek temple was a noble book in its way, where all eyes were expected to read and all hearts to feel, the wise to think, and the ignorant to learn; and, like the noblest of Greek books, the plan and execution of this teaching by form and colour was

* To Pentelicus itself marble is now imported. The Church of the Monastery there, was repaired and beautified in 1859 or 1860; and the Hegoumenos was very proud of the marble pavement, which he procured for his church from Lucca. He proved satisfactorily to Sir Thomas Wyse, that it cost him less to convey marble from Lucca than to take it from the fine old quarries directly above the convent. The difficulty of obtaining skilful workmen, their high wages, and the rude implements still used for these purposes in Greece, were the primary causes of what at first view seemed incredible.—Ed.

perfect; nothing appears excrescence, all is support, all in its place; and, as a Greek peristyle, all animated and elevated to the highest Greek humanity,—

Sono sunt omnia plena.

Pausanias begins at the pronaos, but continues his observations indiscriminately. He first directs attention to the pediment. At each extremity, ἐπὶ ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι, there is a gilt urn, or λέβης, on the apex. He sees a statue of Victory — καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἕστηκε τὸν ἀετὸν — also gilt, and below the statue a shield with Medusa, the Gorgon: this it is to be presumed was in the centre, surrounded by an inscription stating whence the dedication and who were the dedicators.* The shield must have stood immediately beneath, and connected with the pedestal or feet of the statue of Victory: for it leaves the field of the pediment open for another subject, to which, after a short notice of the shields in the peristyle, he then passes. These ornaments, referable to later incidents, do not bear directly upon the purpose or meaning of the Temple. The pediment† represented the frontispiece of the

* The inscription calls it a golden phial, not a λέβης—"the tithe of the spoils taken in battle from the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians, placed by the Lacedæmonians and their allies after the battle of Tanagra."

† The pediment is called ἀετὸς, from its fancied resemblance to an eagle with outspread wings: but Pausanias uses the word loosely, in reference to the extremities. We have the apex—μέσος ἀετὸς, and later, for the extremities and for the field itself, τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς. Generally, however, by ἀετὸς he means the whole pediment.

whole sanctuary, and was connected with the noblest of all the games, the horse or chariot race. It exhibits the preparation for the contest between Pelops and Œnomaus, and the moment seized is just when they are ready to start. The statue of Zeus—the ἄγαλμα,*—as the great link of the subject, is placed properly in the middle, which is a happy assignment, mechanical and æsthetical. Under his auspices the whole proceeds. He is the inspired judge and protector, whose law and services are to decide to whom belongs the victory in the ensuing race. A statue—yet towering above the crowd, it fills the highest space in the pediment. Around it range the combatants, with their attendants. To the right of the statue is Œnomaus, placing a helmet on his own head; and, by his side—a singular deviation from the recent Olympian law—stands his wife Sterope,† one of the daughters of Atlas; whilst Myrtilus, his chariot-driver, is seated (the declension of the pediment required this) before the four horses, with the two nameless servants to whom Œnomaus had given the horses in charge. The angular space at the extremity is filled up by the river Kladeus, which completes distinctly and simply the Œnomaic portion of the subject on that side. On the left of the

* Ἄγαλμα—the statue of a divinity, an object of worship, not the god himself, as in the two pediments of the Parthenon, where the whole action is quasi-celestial. In the Athena Temple of Ægina we have the dividing and presiding ἄγαλμα again, and on the same principle as here.

† We here find a woman assisting at the race, a striking proof that the prohibition was thought of later, and did not lead to marked precautionary measures until the adventure of Kallipateira.—Paus. *Eliacs*, c. x.

statue stands a group treated in the same rhythmical manner — Pelops, and Hippodameia, with the charioteer of Pelops, the horses, the two attendants of Pelops, and the Alpheus, each corresponding in number, character, and function one to the other. Such is the subject of the eastern pediment, which was designed and executed by Pæonius.

The western pediment presented a composition, not so directly in connection with the immediate purposes of the games, and is the same as what has already been noticed in the Temple of Phigaleia—the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ at the marriage of Pirithous. Pirithous forming the interest of the whole—the cause and the hero—appropriately stands in the middle. On one side, is the carrying off the wife of Pirithous by Eurytion, Kæneus endeavouring to prevent him; on the other, Theseus with his battle-axe protecting himself and Pirithous from a centaur. Other episodes follow. One centaur carries off a maiden, and another a beautiful boy. It is not so technically distributed as the eastern pediment, or else Pausanias has bestowed less attention on it. He omits to notice the manner in which the two angles were filled up, so well accounted for in the eastern pediment. It is the work, however, of Alkamenes, who ranked next to Phidias in his art: *ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας* (the word is curious, as probably opposed to the mere executions) *ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων*. Such is the opinion at least of Pausanias.

This double pediment was in the true spirit of Greek art, more conspicuous in its earlier and purest stage. The double pediment and double

peristyle is like the refrain in music and poetry, the return of the fixed theme, with its accepted phraseology. It affords another exemplification of the Homeric type made plastic. In the Athenian bas-reliefs, a slight tendency to the lyrical element is observable.

The presence of the Kladeus is also in accord with that of the Ilissus and Kephissus, in the pediment of the Parthenon. From the necessities of space and place, as also from the artistic etiquette in those cases, their statues were semi-recumbent; which was the more necessary, as it separated them from other agents, and kept them in their own region. These intimations of place and time were early used, and long persevered in. We find the Danube and Tiber, in their mythological personifications, conspicuous far into the Christian Byzantine empire. Day and Night are expressed by Lucifer and Diana, in the same Christian painting where Our Lord appears as the Good Shepherd. Here, they are graceful geographical determinations. The Kladeus on one side, and Alpheus on the other, specifically determine the Olympian platform, and the site of the future Hippodrome. There was no need of referring for explanation, as Pausanias has done, to the high honour in which the Eleians held the Kladeus.

The subordinate portions of the Temple were reserved for subjects more in accordance with the objects of the place. Hercules and his labours naturally suggested themselves to the founders, directors, and patrons of games, which were intended as festal imitations of him. We accordingly find the frieze directly above the entrance

into the naos, filled with these exploits, as well as that over the entrance into the opisthodomos—six reliefs on either side. The metopes of the peristyle were apparently plain, nor does it appear that any frieze decorated the exterior wall of the naos. The only ornaments which Pausanias mentions, are the gilt shields, to the number of twenty-one, one hanging on every pillar, and one in the space between, which Mummius—in derision, one might almost suppose — dedicated to the Hellenic Zeus, after the capture and spoliation of Corinth.

Fragments of these friezes—the types of athletic excellence — have been discovered in the interior of the peristyle. They go beyond even the school of Myron. They are almost alt-relief, in a broad and harsh style, on a background which appears to have been coloured. The pieces measure five feet by five. The more important fragments are the six metopes found on the western side, but they have suffered much in their fall.*

Pausanias accounts, though doubtingly, for the selection of the labours of Hercules from genealogic connection with Zeus and Pelops. "Alkamenes executed this work, as it appears to me, having learnt from the poems of Homer that Pirithous was from Zeus, and knowing also that Theseus was the fourth from Pelops." † This probably would have been the explanation given by the exegist in the time of Pausanias, when the connection of every subject with the games was a main object: but it must be remembered that Alkamenes was

* Curtius, p. 58, v. 2; Welcker, im zweiten Anhange zum Akad. Museum in Bonn, Aufl. 2, pp. 121, 175.

† Paus. *Eliacs*, c. x.

an Athenian, and therefore anxious to associate his native state with the centre of Hellenic glory, through its mythological heroes. The outrage of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, terminating in the punishment of the aggressors—brutal force vanquished by heroism, like giant slain by knight in mediæval legendry—was no unfit, though rather a *recherché*, exemplification of the effect of Civilization on Barbarism, or a proof how these Hellenic games indicated a general advance, physical and mental. Theseus too and Pirithous were companions, according to the Doric ideal, and the gymniast *par excellence* was Hercules. The few trifling fragments of these works that have been recovered, induce one to hope that many more may yet be unearthed from the layer of sand — not less than 16 and 20 feet deep—which still overspreads this platform. The two pediments must have differed as much in execution as the subject and the artists. Alkamenes was an Athenian, whilst Pæonius came from Thrace.

The first statues, which Pausanias meets, are in the eastern pronaos. He first passes the railwork between the pillars, which he calls "brazen doors"—τὰς θύρας δε ἐσιόντι τὰς χαλκᾶς: * but as he is entering, not the naos, but the pronaos, they can bear no other signification, than a railing similar to that used in the Parthenon and other temples—an arrangement originally borrowed from Egypt, especially in temples *in antis* like this of Olympia. When the pronaos was applied to the reception of ἀναθήματα, a railing was absolutely

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. x.

necessary. No fragments of these doors have been found, though bronzes are not uncommon at Olympia: *θρίγκοι* would be a more appropriate term here. The door, properly such, of the naos was solid. Müller * gratuitously supposes one to have been of precious wood. That doors existed is beyond doubt: for Pausanias speaks of part of the enclosure round the statue, thus — *τούτων τῶν ἑρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστίν* — unless, indeed, he uses the word in the same sense in which he applied it to the railing.

On the right, in front of a pillar, stood the statue of Iphitus crowned by Ekechiria,† as the inscription states. The pronaos was floored with a mosaic,‡ composed of variously coloured pebbles, from

* See Müller, p. 713.

† Ἐκεχειρία — *inducia* symbolically personified — a "truce" which suspended all Greek differences, and re-established Panhellenism during the continuance of the games and panegyris. No more appropriate reward, therefore, could be thought of for their founder Iphitus, than being crowned by Truce itself. Schnorr's grand fresco of Rudolph von Hapsburg, establishing a similar suspension of lawlessness and hostility, treats the same subject in an analogous but Christian spirit. The banner with the inscription "Treva di Dio," displayed behind and over Rudolph, surrounded by prelates and legists, corresponds to the Pagan *ἐκεχειρία*.

‡ This style of mosaic is still common in Athens. Blue and white pebbles are used with great effect, in courts and entrance-halls. The ornamentation is always in good taste, directly from the antique, and often, as in Dr. Makas' house, bears inscriptions, such as *χαῖρε*, on the threshold. It is remarkable, that the relation of these squares to the pillars of the temple is not symmetric. One might fancy them transposed from some other temple, in the time of the Romans, to serve, perhaps, for other *ἀναθήματα*. Human bones have been found between, which would almost imply connection with a Christian burial-ground: but we have no reason to believe the temple ever became a church. See Fallmerayer, vol. i. p. 712.

the Alpheus, representing Tritons and Nereids, enframed with palmets of the purest design: though, subsequently, the floor was of fine alabaster, intermingled with stones of many hues, apparently of the Roman or Byzantine period. The existence of this embellishment has been ascertained, not from the pages of Pausanias, but from recent discovery. In the same pronaos was a large collection—the accumulation of different epochs—of statues, and other offerings, which must have nearly filled the whole space, and left but little passage for the worshipper.

The great object of all the preparation, was the statue of the god himself: yet, this wondrous work was not executed till some time after the erection of the temple. Whether Phidias restrained his art, to meet the conditions of the building, is hardly clear: but, more probably, he considered all discrepancies which might arise in the adaptation, as secondary to the fullest expression of his own conception. The sedent attitude was common, at one time, in most representations of the gods—as, for instance, the ἐπιγούνατο of Athena in the presents to the goddess at Troy — an archaic Egyptian form. It allowed more colossal dimensions, than if the position were erect: and, though it did not escape notice that, in case the statue had risen up straight, its head would have gone through the roof of the temple, this caused admiration rather than censure.

The high seat or throne required by this position, gave a large field for subsidiary sculptural decoration, both in subject and in mere ornamental enrichment. The adoption of the chryselephantine

system justified the introduction of colour, and in painting, as well as in sculpture. All these opportunities were amply seized, and successive ages improved on them. Whether such is the highest point of art, or its most perfect result, may be doubted: but it is impossible to doubt that it was the artist's full intention to combine these elements, that he expected from them the greatest amount of artistic impression, and that his anticipations, to judge from the prodigal eulogy of antiquity, were not unwarranted.

"The god is seated," says Pausanias,* "on a throne made of gold and ivory: a crown is on his head, which imitates the leaves of the olive: in his right hand he holds a Victory, also of ivory and gold, a fillet and a crown encircling its brow. In the left hand of the god is a graceful sceptre, composed of all kinds of metals, and the bird sitting on the sceptre is the eagle. The sandals of the god are of gold, as also his himation or robe: on this robe are wrought animals and lilies—*τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα.*" This was rich enough, but the whole subordinate decorations were in the same taste. The seat or throne was a constellation of gold and precious stones, of ebony and ivory, of painting and sculpture. The sculpture represented the Victories as dancers, four in number, round the feet of the throne, two on each side. In front of the feet were the children of the Thebans carried off by the Sphinx, and the children of Niobe slain by Apollo and Artemis. On the friezes, immediately opposite the entrance, stood seven statues: the eighth had

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xi.

disappeared in the time of Pausanias, no one knew how. They seem to have typified the older games. The figure of Pantarkes in the attitude of binding his hair was one of these figures, and, doubtless, bore allusion to the first admission of youths to the course. The throne had pillars intermediate between the feet: but it is hard to say whether they were two or four in number.* The friezes,† or bands, extended from foot to foot: so that, including the rear, there must have been four. Pausanias mentions the subjects of other friezes besides that fronting the entrance. The battle of the Amazons, comprising not less than twenty-nine figures, occurs again. Theseus is here companion to Hercules; but, whether continuing over the whole of the three remaining bands, is not evident. It were difficult to say on what principle, if any, either of these subjects find their place in an Olympeion, and especially at Olympia. The links may have escaped us, or there was no link, the selection being left to artists — a noticeable trait in other sculptures and paintings of the temple; or else, a certain number of subjects were kept as the stock in trade, art having already experimentally tested their

* I have seen a pedestal of this kind at Athens, near the Stoa of Adrian, where the dancing figures, Nymphs or Victories, join hands as in a chorus.

† The word used by Pausanias is *κανὼν*—regular, round: in a wider sense, annex, rule, or measure. Here, it evidently meant a fascine above the pillars and legs, rather than a frieze proper, which, being part of an entablature, was not commonly decorated in early Doric art, though usually so in Ionic, as probably it was in this case. The frieze of the Temple of Victory on the Akropolis affords exemplification of this way of treating a subject: also the frieze of the monument of Lysicrates.

aptitude for whatever purpose or occasion. When we reflect that the Athenian school soon superseded the Æginetan, even in the Peloponnesus, we ought, on this theory, to expect to see the predominance of Athenian legend. Such, in fact, was evidently the case, as already observed in the sculptures at Phigaleia.

There was no entrance into the statue under the throne, as at Amyklæ, which is quite conceivable from the nature of the construction : on the contrary, a sort of wall-like enclosure had been raised to prevent approach. This surface was also taken advantage of for ornament. The front towards the gates or door was painted blue,—*ἀλήλιπται κυάνῳ*:* and the phrase is significative. The others were covered with the paintings of Panœnus from various legendary sources, which, with few exceptions, had little direct bearing on the games. The relation of Hercules to Olympia authorized the introduction of any legend connected with that hero : but it is obvious that the Athenian artist dexterously seized those which connected Athens with the glory of Hercules, and which associated Theseus and his friend Pirithous — the Athenian heroes—in his exploits. We must not, therefore, be surprised to see, in that portion of the Amazonian myth in which Hercules was directly concerned, Theseus foremost amongst his fellow-combatants. This is again repeated in a more *hors d'œuvre* manner, and with more ostentation in another episode. Theseus stands by with

* Blue—*κύανος*—as well as crimson and vermilion, or *minium*, was used, like the diaper of blue and red in mediæval buildings, to cover vacant spaces, or as backgrounds for paintings. It was apparently encaustic.

Pirithous, while Hercules is about to take from Atlas the weight of the heavens and earth — an innovation on the ordinary legend, which does not introduce either hero. Here it was clearly adopted to mark more strongly its Athenian character. Hellas and Salamis are placed beside them, without any obvious necessity. They are poetical abstractions, holding in their hands the ἄκρας of vessels —a direct allusion to the recent naval glories of Athens, the same emblem being employed to designate the west or north-west wind, on the Tower of the Winds at Athens. This accounts likewise for the prodigal representation of the Amazons and Theseus: it made the great mythic — as Salamis made the historic—boast of the efforts of Athens against the barbarians.

The legend of Atlas, the fight with the Nemean lion, and even the delivery of Prometheus—all portions of the labours of Hercules—have a legitimate title to admission: but the attempt of Ajax on Kassandra, with the romantic incident of the death of Penthesileia in the arms of Achilles—Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνέχων αὐτήν — is not only unconnected with the same cyclus, but has not the same character of myth: it is post-Homeric of the most marked description, and can have nothing to say to the god, temple, place, or games, and less again to the spirit from which they originated. The choice of these must have proceeded solely from Athenian predilection or from former treatment. Hippodameia and the Hesperides refer directly to the games, but the figures subsequently mentioned on the steps — βάθρον — have no intelligible connection, and are simple adornment. We there find the Sun

ascending his car, Jupiter, Juno with her attendant, and one of the Graces; and then Mercury, and Vesta holding Mercury; again Eros receiving Venus from the sea (here a purely abstract divinity, and Athenian), whilst Πείθω, or Persuasion, is crowning her. The decorations concluded with Apollo, Diana, Minerva, and with Hercules — to justify the whole. At the extremity were Amphitrite, Neptune, and finally the Moon, as distinguished from Diana, driving or riding what some call a mule, but what Pausanias "believes to be a horse." It is useless to attempt an explanation of what is confusion. Their richness and elegant form seem to have been the sole object in view: nor did ornament cease here. In accordance with Homeric tradition, which makes them daughters of Jupiter, Phidias had placed on one side the three Graces, and on the other the three Hours, above the head of the statue. Even the minor spaces were not left unoccupied. The footstool of the god disclosed golden lions, together with—and for the third time —the fight of the Amazons and Theseus; whilst, on the steps, was sculptured in gold, a series of desultory and almost isolated figures and episodes, —a sort of "voluntary." The floor, right in front of the statue, was of black marble or stone, with an edging of Parian marble, intended to contain the oil for the preservation of the figure. Pausanias lays stress on this expedient: evaporation from water, as round the statue of Minerva at the Parthenon, or the damp of a cave, as at the Hieron of Epidaurus, may have produced the desired effect on the chryselephantine statues. It is hard, however, to conceive how oil could have the same

result, unless when rubbed into the material. Yet Pausanias piques himself on his knowledge of both the origin and qualities of ivory, though his ideas are fantastic and capricious enough. In chapter XII. of his *Eliacs*, he will not admit that ivory is procured from the tusks of elephants, but rather from their horns, and he makes no difficulty in asserting the fact that oil is a good preservative against the marshy air of the Altis.

To complete this singular polychromatic effect, Assyrian hangings, embroidered, and dyed in purple, were suspended. They were the gift of Antiochus, who dedicated the Ægis with the head of Medusa, above the Athenian theatre: and the whole thus stood in the blaze of a summer Hellenic sun, the Temple being, as already noticed, hypæthral. The embroidery in wool was Assyrian, and such as still flourishes at Constantinople and Athens in gold and silk: the skill and taste of which are excellent and traditional. The dyeing in πορφύρα, or crimson vermilion, was Phœnician, and, to this day, it is the favourite colour in Turkey and all over the East. The curtain was permanent, and drawn round the statue, unlike that in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, which Pausanias says was raised upwards to the roof, or let down, as occasion required. Stuart supposes the πέπλος to have been applied to a similar use, at the Parthenon: but, there, no need existed for protecting the statue, as the roof extended far enough to cover the spot where the statue stood.

Pausanias, after describing the Phidian Colossus, returns to the pronaos, and places there the "offerings." The throne or seat of Arimmes, king of the

Tyrrhenians, is first mentioned. This was a very ancient dedication — "he was the first barbarian, who sent a gift to Zeus in Olympia." Then came the bronze horses, rather smaller than life, by Kyniska. On the right of the pronaos, stood the brazen tripod, also very ancient: for it had been used to hold the crowns of the victors, before the τράπεζα, or table, was employed for that purpose. All these were in the pronaos. Then followed the statues, in the same spot, chiefly Roman. That of Adrian, in Parian marble, was offered by the cities of the Achæan League, and the statue of Trajan by all Greeks. Pausanias takes this opportunity of noticing Trajan's public virtues, as so many claims. The bust — εἰκὼν * — of Augustus was in amber (or the word may equally imply gold and silver mixed), that of Nicomedus, king of Bithynia, in ivory. Within the naos hung the dedications or *ex-votos* of Nero—four crowns—"three in imitation of the wild olive-leaf, the fourth of oak." The twenty-five shields, borne by those who ran armed in the Hoplite race, were also here, as well as the pillar or στήλη, on which was engraved the oath of alliance between the Eleians, Athenians, Argives, and Mantineians.

With our somewhat puritanic views of Greek art, which nevertheless are not borne out by early practice, it is difficult to reconcile all this tawdriness—as our orthodoxy, accustomed only to white

* Εἰκὼν, as contradistinguished in that sense from ἀνδριάς—a full-length statue. The proper sculptural word for bust, is προτόμη —the upper part of the figure; and that term is still used at Athens. The busts mentioned in the text, seem to have stood on pedestals.

marble, would term it. Ivory and ebony, gold and marble, painting and sculpture, white, black, and as many hues as the imagination, led by Pausanias, chooses to admit; statues and curtains, embroidery and drapery—to say nothing of the seats and shields, and other offerings in the naos and pronaos—unite here, in the glare of day, to form a combination scarcely tolerated in a Gothic church, and which is the very opposite of what one is taught to deem the standard of Hellenic propriety. But the Greeks considered otherwise. In early antiquity, these displays are the rule, not the exception, in whole and detail; and, though many modifications — I know not whether we are to call them purifications —succeeded, the sense of these appliances, far from losing ground in popular favour, but grew the stronger, as they approached our own times. It is remarkable that Pausanias, who, struck by the grandeur of the statue, could not believe in the diminished measure given by his guide, makes no complaint of this gaudy clashing of colour and form. He says nothing of the "ginger-bread gimcrackery" of the Phidian school, as would assuredly our more sensitive connoisseurs of to-day. It is true, he was more of an archæologist, more of a liturgist, than an artist, or a judge of art; but, after all, he was a Greek, and communed with Greeks, and he is never loth to reflect the opinions of others, when he has none, or when his own opinions are ill-defined.

The early vase, and early statue, leave no doubt of this flashy taste in detail, which the early temple exhibits in gross. The taste was traditional, travelling partly from Assyria, through the Asia Minor

colonies, and partly from Egypt: in the latter country, it was also to a large degree hieratic. Certain colours had their religious sacredness and their ritual symbolism, and were not to be dispensed with at will. Commerce, particularly Phœnician, sustained the taste. How full is Homer of Asia and Africa, in all his impressions and expressions of art! This taste never wholly departed. See, for example, in the noonday of Phidian excellence, how little it scrupled travelling into ivory and gold. Roman luxury soon found an interest, in a display of costly marbles and gems; and these were the accessories, and often the substitutes, of sculpture. It was such a spirit which formed the essence of Byzantine art, and which is conspicuous even in Byzantine architecture: no wonder, therefore, that critics should have doubted to whom the decorated columns in front of the tomb of Atreus ought to be ascribed.

The Temple, however, was not an empty decoration. Within it the victors were crowned. The "Sacred Table," containing the branches freshly cut from the wild olive, was placed in the centre: and, upon particular days, sacrifice was offered on an altar *in* the naos—ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, as says Pausanias. The opisthodomos, some think, was used for poetical and other recitations: but that is mere conjecture.

CHAPTER V.

OLYMPIA CONTINUED.

THE Great Temple was surrounded by a temenos, which is here called the Altis—a corruption from ἄλσος, the sacred surrounding grove: but it comprised, besides the Olympeion, many other sanctuaries. The probable extent of the Altis is defined by an oblong, the south side of which would run from the bridge or passage of the Kladeus, to meet a line drawn from the base of Mount Kronion, on the east side—the Kladeus itself facing the west. The north side is partly formed by a line parallel to the south and abutting on the Theatre, in a declivity of Kronion, and connecting Kronion by a higher line with the Kladeus.

The first building we meet in Pausanias is the *Pelopion*, which lay directly to the north of the Olympeion, and which was about half the size of the Temple. It began on a line towards the middle of the Temple, and sufficiently close to form, with the Temple, a street containing many statues. The Pelopion was no more than an enclosure of stone, planted, and filled with the statues of heroes. Here took place a ritual worship of the dead, in the sacrifice of a black ram, whose blood was received by the earth.

The erection of this Heroum was assigned to

Hercules, and Pelops is directly connected with Hercules, who was his descendant in the fourth line. The ceremonial at this Heroum was strictly chthonic, and a relic of the funeral ceremonies of heroes. It was performed by those in office, and founded on the curious mythic tradition of the recovery of Pelops' shoulder-bone.* A certain amount of contamination intermingled, notwithstanding, with the reverence displayed: for no one eat of the flesh of the sacrificial ram, except the woodcutter of the temple, who got the neck. Any who did eat, whether Eleian or stranger, was not permitted to enter the Temple of Jupiter. This is obviously an Asiatic prescription, as Pausanias, immediately after this remark, notices a similar practice at the sacrifice to Telephus in the Kaikos at Pergamus.

A fitting pendant to this monument existed on the other side, in the Hippodameion, dedicated to Hippodameia—also a native heroine, and the wife of Pelops. It was nearly of the same size and form — 100 feet square; and it stood near the principal entrance, the πομπικὴ εἴσοδος. Women were there allowed to sacrifice in honour of Hippodameia.

Here the original Zeus worship was, as already remarked, strictly Pelasgic — an altar-worship. Long after Olympia had become thoroughly Hellenized, the memory of this rite seems to have been religiously preserved in the great altar—"the altar of Olympian Jupiter," as Pausanias calls it, or "*the* altar," according to Xenophon. It lay between

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xiii.

the Great Temple and the Temple of Juno, a little to the east of both, and about the centre of the Altis. A singular relic of the old ritual, whether ascribable to the Idean Hercules or to the later enchorial heroes, it afforded a specimen-form of high antiquity, deriving evidently from Asia. Such, for example, was the altar to the Lamian Juno at Pergamus, and the ἐσχάρα of Attica. Pausanias unconsciously shows us the natural progress of this altar-worship. The altar grows from an accumulation of the ashes of thigh-bones used for sacrifice, and rising by degrees into a mound. This mound annually increases, and finally requires steps. Two stone ascents of the kind existed on each side, in the time of Pausanias. Later, the mound divided into two portions or stages. The lower, or the preliminary place of sacrifice—πρόθυσις—was enclosed, and it formed the first enclosure of the altar—τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρηπίδος μὲν τῆς πρώτης, προθύσεις καλουμένης.* The stone steps stop here. This enclosure would seem to have been open to all the people, and on every day; that is, not only to the combatants, or during the panegyris, but even to women, married as well as virgins, "since," says Pausanias, "they are not excluded from Olympia," in contradistinction to their exclusion from the games. The upper division was approachable solely by the priests, and by means of steps made of the ashes. The nature of the sacrifices also differed there. The general sacrifices used to be in the Prothysis, the thighs only being offered on the higher

*. Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xiii.

portion of the altar, or on the altar itself. The dimensions in Pausanias' time, had swelled out to a great extent. The Prothysis included a circumference of 125 feet, the portion above the Prothysis being 32 feet—both, I presume, as measured by their respective bases. The whole height was 22 feet.* This recalls the division ordered by God under the Old Law—the high altar in the general court for all the people, and the altar of incense, for the priests only, within the Tabernacle. Some resemblance or reminiscence may be detected in the Greek Christian ritual of the present day. The *prothesis*, as it is now termed, stands to the right side of the altar or bema — *βῆμα*, whilst the *diaconikon* is to the left. The prothesis is the chapel, where the elements are prepared for subsequent consecration on the altar, and where the bread is blessed for distribution to all the people. No difficulty is made, in allowing laymen to enter the prothesis, though they are prohibited from approaching the sanctuary or bema. On the bema, or *βῶμος*, the Sacrifice is offered, as there the elements are consecrated, and the liturgy completed; what is done at the prothesis being only preliminary. Constant reference to both occurs in the Greek ecclesiastical writers. *Βῆμα* is at first indifferently used with *βωμός*, from the ascent its shape required, and from the purposes of preaching and allocution to which it is likewise applied. Blessings and addresses are still given, by the officiating priest or bishop, from this spot. At the consecration of the chapel in the Philopaideutike at

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xiii.

Athens, I remember seeing, at one part of the ceremony, the bishop—the Ἅγιος Πατρῶν of that day, the learned Misael — sit down on the outer step of the bema, and teach his clergy, who sat in a semicircle around him. When they speak of preaching, the style adopted is "ascending the ecclesiastical bema." * Hence its connection with the

* This Greek mode of preaching from the bema, bears a striking analogy to the use of *ambones* in the Catholic churches of the West. The best instance of an ambo,—such as those used, in early times, for preaching and reading the Epistles and Gospels to the people —exists in Rome, in the ancient basilica of St. Clement, in the Lateran road. The original ambones of that church are in a state of perfect preservation, although they no longer subserve their primitive purpose. Similar ones, less perfectly preserved, are extant in other Roman churches. Remains of the ambo may also be seen in many of the churches of Spain, particularly where the Mosarabic rite prevailed. But, what is yet more interesting, is to notice their actual use down to our own days. The roodloft of the Gothic churches of the Middle Ages was the successor, or rather a development, of the ambo of the first Christian centuries. Thus, by the old Sarum rite, which was used so extensively in England and Ireland before the change of religion, the deacon was directed to sing the Gospel, preach and announce the feasts and fasts "from the roodloft" on certain solemn occasions. But, more markedly still, the ambo in its ancient form is at the present day an ordinary adjunct of those churches which follow the Ambrosian rite. Milan cathedral contains two magnificent ambones of marble, one on each side of the choir, from which the Epistle and Gospel are regularly chanted, and sermons sometimes preached. The same exist at Notre Dame, in Paris. Although, in that cathedral, the preaching is usually conducted in the nave, the Epistle and Gospel of the high mass are always sung from the ambones which flank on either side the entrance to the chancel : likewise, until quite lately, the Creed used to be sung there by a chorister, alternately with a chorus, from a large wooden ambo on the left of the altar. Both the form and use of all these pulpits had a common origin : or, to pursue the subject to its furthest limits, they derived originally from the custom, prevalent in the courts of the Roman empire, of reading out legal documents from

classic bema. Ἐξαιτοῦμαι παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας τρῖς σεβασμοίς μοι πανιερότητος χωρημήσαι μοι τὴν ἄδειαν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκκλεσιαστικοῦ βήματος occurs in the petition of a layman, Apostolos Makrahis, to the Greek Archbishop of Attica for permission to preach—August $\frac{4}{17}$, 1859. Now the churches also possess pulpits, sometimes called *pulpitia:* but *bema* is the more familiar word.

Besides the natural accumulation from sacrifices, both above and below this altar at Olympia, the "prophets" were required, on the 19th of the month Elaphion, to prepare the ashes from the Prytaneion, and, mixing them with the water of the Alpheus, to plaster the top with this addition. In some places, even entrails and blood, as well as ashes, were used in these Pagan rites. Pausanias mentions this as occurring at Didyme, in the Milesian territory, where the altar was dedicated, curiously enough, to the Theban Hercules.*

The pyramidal form of altar in its different stages is proved to be strongly Oriental, and, amongst other instances, by the excavations at Nineveh. A silver tetradrachm exists in the British Museum, having on one side the head of Antiochus Epiphanus, B.C. 140, and on the other a representation of the tomb of Sardanapalus, who was deified by the Assyrians. This coin is of great interest, as representing the pyramidal type, so common in the East, and of

an ambo or raised desk. The basilicas—literally, the royal courts—having been afterwards turned to churches, the transversion of their furniture to ecclesiastical uses was as easy as it was natural. The Greek—*βῆμα*—bema of to-day, may be traced to a similar source, in the Pagan temples of ancient Greece.—Ed.

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xiii.

which the steppe-mounds in Assyria, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the Egyptian pyramids, are salient examples. There were two other altars of ashes at Olympia — that of Hera, and another of Ge, the Earth, which was oracular; and Pausanias gives a long roll of altars, where, it would seem, they sacrificed in succession.*

A little hillock, not far from the Great Temple, may not inappropriately be identified with the site of this Great Altar.

Between this altar and the Pelopion we find a curious proof of the tenacity with which the ancients adhered to a tradition, in what Pausanias calls Οἰνομάου κίονα †—the pillar of Œnomaus. It was a solitary wooden pillar, kept together by iron hoops, and covered by a roof supported by four iron pillars, and, as such, all that remained of the house of Œnomaus, lightning or Zeus having destroyed the rest. The inscription testified to the fact. It is curious to meet this proof amid their traditions, of the early architecture of the Greeks. The two altars of Zeus Herkeius and Zeus Kerainius—the first having been raised by Œnomaus—designate the extent of his palace. The excavation made by the Roman senator, of which Pausanias was witness, at least indicates an ancient interment, the ornaments found being those of the most ancient tombs.

The two next monuments of interest are the Heraion and Metroon, beyond the great altar, and in a line with the south-west foot of Kronion. The Temple of Hera, which dates from the earliest

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xiv. † *Id.* c. xx.

antiquity, was founded, according to Eleian tradition, by the inhabitants of Skillus, who passed over from Triphylia, eight years after the acquisition of Elis by Oxylus. This temple is another curious instance of the early wooden architecture of the Greeks. Pausanias states, that one of the pillars of the opisthodomos was of oak. The naos was about sixty-three feet, and possessed a peristyle, which would give large proportions. In later ages, it seems principally to have served as a sort of treasury of statuary and other *reliquiæ* of ancient times. Here, besides the long roll of statues—many of them chryselephantine—was preserved that remarkable specimen of ancient carving, evidently the work of one of the best artists, despite the confused and unartistic description of Pausanias—the λάρναξ or chest of Kypselus.* The most interesting incident, however, about the Heraion was the establishment of the Ἡραῖα, or games for the women, who thus appear to have compensated themselves for their exclusion from the Olympian. The race was curious in all its parts; the ἀγὼν itself—the foot-race for the maidens of all ages, yet skilfully arranged, the younger being started first, the elder last, in order to equalize their claims; the costume, the chiton—χιτών—drawn up above the knee, with the right shoulder bare, and the hair flowing; the crowning of the victors with olives, and the participation in the sacrifice to Juno; with the erection of statues to those who had been successful; all which, being simply the legend of Hippodameia and Chloris, looks like a studiously

* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xvii.

designed counterpart to the Olympian games under the protection of Jupiter. It betrays a Doric cast, and recalls the female gymnasts of Sparta, so little known to the long-robed delicacy of the Ionians. The ἀγωνοθέται, or presidents, were also women. The sixteen, who were appointed to weave the peplos, were entrusted every fifth year with the charge of the games, and treated with the same religious consideration as the Hellenodikæ. This band of sixteen women could not enter on their peculiar functions, any more than could the latter on theirs, without the ordeal of a long purification in the fountain Piera.

Whence that custom arose—as Pausanias admits the institution to be very ancient—is not easy to determine: but the fact is certain, from the early legends of the games themselves, where Hippodameia and Atlanta figure as much as Pelops, and Œnomaus, and Sterope too—all of them bearing names either significant of their prowess and qualities, or as designations afterwards affixed in consequence of the custom. It furnishes striking evidence of the much freer condition of women at that early period, particularly in the Peninsula, than what was seen later in the Attic and Ionic parts of Greece. The origin of the "sixteen women," referring to a much later legend,* is even more characteristic. They were first selected from the different towns—a sort of committee to settle differences between the Pisans and the Eleians; and having accomplished this, the Eleians ever

* Paus. *Eliacs*, xvi.

after chose from among their eight tribes, two women, specially for this body, to preserve memorials of the dead. Their influence was gratefully recognized and perpetuated. One feels, as if reading of those treaties, which have so often been effected by similar deputations from the hostile families and villages of the Maina of modern Greece.

The dance, as may be supposed, was not omitted. Pausanias mentions two forms, which had been preserved,—the "Hippodameia," and the "Physkoa," so named from an Eleian of the name, favoured by Bacchus; but he adds nothing explanatory of their character, nor have we other indications than what the incidents of the legend furnish.

Still further to the west, stood the temple or shrine sacred to the Mother of the Gods — "the Mother Shrine." The name alone seems to have been preserved: for Pausanias did not even find in it a statue of the goddess.* He observes that it was large, and of Doric architecture, perhaps to distinguish it from the Philippeion near, and served apparently as a receptacle for the statues of Roman emperors.

The Philippeion is curious, as a characteristic of the times, morally and architecturally. It was created here, in the midst of the monuments of Hellenic glory, by the "Man of Macedon," after the failure of Greece at Chæronea, as Pausanias relates with pain—*μετὰ τὸ ἐν Χαιρονείᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀλισθεῖν*. Somewhat of the Tholus fashion, it was circular, with a peristyle, and surmounted with a

* Paus. *Eliacs*, xx.

brazen poppy, fastened or bound up with the beams. Yet, notwithstanding this richness and its designated purpose, it was built of baked brick. It became a sort of mausoleum, for the reception of memorials of the Philippine dynasty, like the grand-ducal chapel at Florence, which preserves those of the Medici. Here stood statues of Amyntas the Father, Philip, and Alexander, all of chryselephantine—curious objects to meet at such an epoch, in conjunction with brick. Nor are the females omitted — Olympia and Euridike being numbered among them. It was not a temple—*ἱερόν* — but an *οἴκημα*, situated on the left hand going out of the Altis past the Prytaneum.

Curtius places the Metroon on a line with the Heraion, but considerably to the east, and the Philippeion (where Pausanias indicates), near the entrance and far to the north. But Pausanias mentions the Philippeion almost in conjunction with the Metroon. Later on he writes—*Ἰόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρῴου*,* which would imply, though not necessarily, another position. The road might have led round the base of Kronion.

The Prytaneum, like the Prytaneum in most Greek cities, was designed for the feasting of the victors and the assembly of the magistrates of Olympia. Here in the immediate vicinity stood the "sacred hearth"—*ἑστία*—the "home," so to speak, and centre of the Olympian district. In the great hall near, the victors used to be feasted, as the guests of the god, on the evening of their

* Paus. *Eliacs*, xxi.

victory, and in the same manner as they were afterwards feasted in their own states. Pausanias gives no information, as to the architecture of this edifice : he supplies, however, some interesting details of the ceremonies performed there.

Near the Prytaneum was the Bouleuterion, or assembly of the council. It was principally used as the place where the competitors for the games had to take their "bribery oath," before entering on the course. Pausanias has a characteristic description of the ceremonies. A statue of Zeus Orkios, or the guardian of the sanctity of oaths, stood in the midst, holding the thunderbolt in each hand. Upon a tablet beneath were inscribed the punishments awaiting those who violated their oath. Here, before the magistrates, the competitors were sworn with their relatives and friends, parents being answerable for boys. The necessity of these precautions is apparent from the numbers fined for violation of the oath, and from the numerous statues erected from this fund — which statues were called the Zanes. The oath was taken with all due rites, upon a black boar, which again was not eaten, but, after Homeric fashion, thrown into the sea.

The position of this building is determined by the text. It was within the Altis, but at the entrance, and not far from the Philippeion, which occupies the other or left side, while the gymnasium lay without the precincts of the Altis. This would place the Bouleuterion near the western slope of Kronion. In this vicinity was a theatre— some think nothing but a *scene*, which was also

outside the Altis, though at its very edge. It is mentioned by Xenophon.*

Leaving the district which was devoted to the sanctuary and to religious purposes generally, we now turn to the part appropriated to the games—the exterior portion of Olympia. A third part—distinct from both—was allocated to the objects of the Fair or Paneygris.

Mount Olympus forms, as already seen, a low range along the inside of the plain. It is divided into east and west. The west alone at present interests us. It breaks into three promontories, the first and most remarkable culminating in a high pointed head covered with pines, the second running out into a long narrow tongue, broken in one place eastward, whilst the third lies much further inward. The first hill is Kronion, or the Hill of Kronos, which name bears a direct relation to Zeus, and to the solemnities of the place.

Passing along the base of this hill, we still perceive substructions. Here lay the stone terrace, on which were placed the Zanes or statues of Jupiter, the Doric or enchorial substitute for Ζηνες or Jupiters. These were fruits of the fines imposed for violation of the laws regulating the games, or for any corrupt practices, detected amongst the competitors.

The Zanes appear to have been numerous, and were principally raised at the expense of strangers, but not exclusively: for, amongst others, the Athenians had to pay for six. They were in bronze, and seem all to have been standing in the time

* *Hell.* vii. 4, 31.

of Pausanias, who gives an edifying list of the offences.* The commonest charge was, apparently, the buying up of the antagonist, *ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιουμένους χρήμασι*, and this was sometimes tried with the boys. Nor has the practice yet ceased in Greece. In a foot-race with some Englishmen near Athens, not long since, some young Greeks attempted the experiment, arranging to divide the spoils between them. The pretext of the Etesians in the Cyclades, which prevented the candidates of Olympia from reaching it in July, is just what would now be used. Such a plea was urged by the crew of a caïque for an *ad libitum* delay to a friend of mine who had engaged it for a summer cruise. The Athenians were not better than other Greeks. It required the introduction of the Pythoness to bring them into order. The inscriptions on these statues were excellent, and might well be transferred to other places from Olympia.

Near this point were located the Treasuries, where the different states kept their funds, as occurred so frequently in the temples of antiquity, the opisthodomos being reserved for that purpose. This custom and confidence is still preserved in Turkey, if not in Greece. On going to Mecca, it is usual for the pilgrims to deposit their property in the mosques. Large quantities of trunks, and goods of every kind, are at all times to be seen in the larger mosques, where they are guarded with the most jealous care.

All these sites have a legendary connection. As

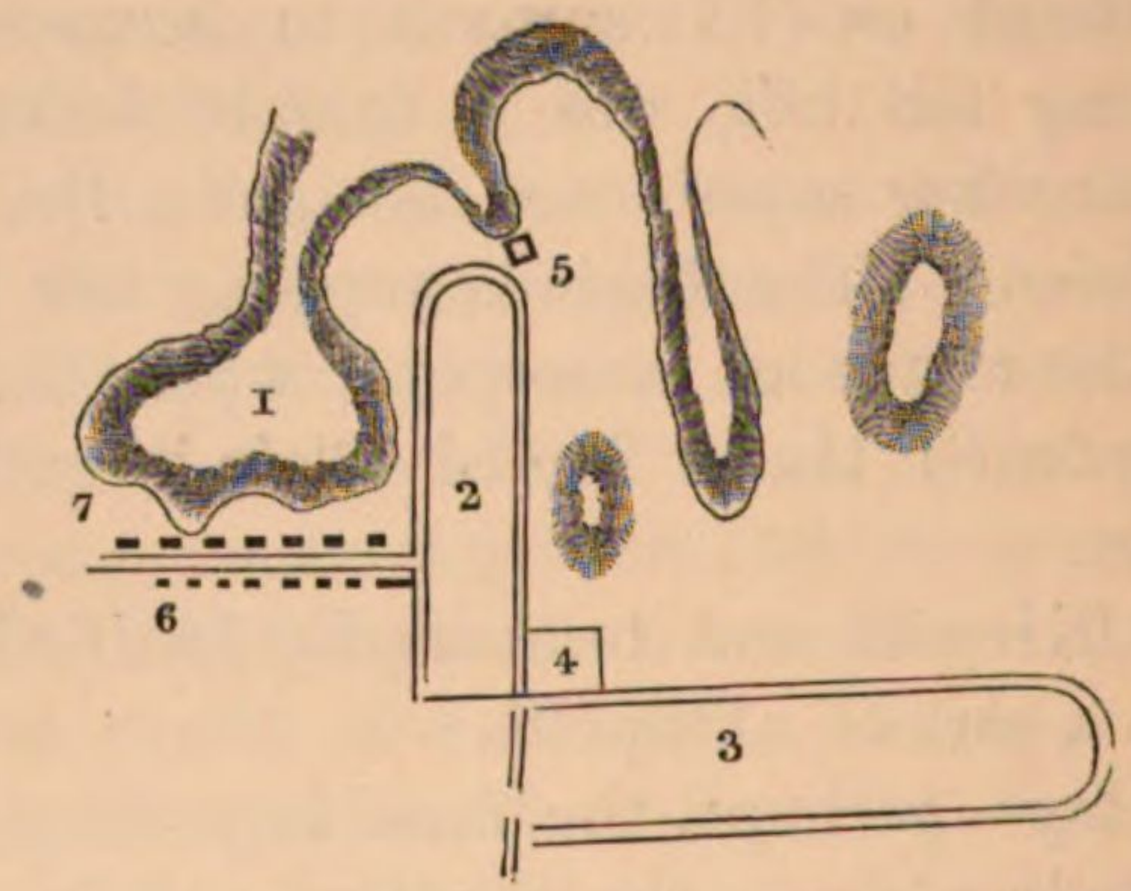
* Paus. *Eliacs*, c. xvi.

a temple and altars exist to Zeus and Hera, so on Mount Kronion there are to Kronos and Eleithyia. Every year, at the summer solstice sacrifices used to be offered on its summit to Kronos; and, half-way up the hill, was a temple dedicated to Eleithyia or her mystic son Sosipolis, the patron of the Eleians. The legends suppose her to have fled in the shape of a serpent, when the Arkadians profaned the "Sacred Plain" with their possession.

Mount Kronion was temporarily fortified, and it served as a sort of akropolis.

Below lay—perhaps, the most important portion of the whole plain — the Stadium and the Hippodrome. The eye is at once induced by the position of the ground to select, for the Stadium, one of two small valleys. The more easterly shows high ground, an elongated tongue of land to the east, and a parallel line to the west, broken into two hills. One is more inclined to fix upon this valley than on the westerly one; its extremity to the north exactly expressing the semicircular form of a stadium, and each side presenting forms and slopes for the seats, which are now covered with a flourishing crop of corn. For these very reasons, however, some archæologists would oblige us to abandon it, and to prefer the other site, alleging that the sides of the Stadium were built with masonry. The text of Pausanias favours this description; nevertheless, we have here a naturally formed ground, which would obviate the necessity of recurring to artificial expedients. This theory coincides also with its relation generally to the Zanes. Such is the motive which caused Curtius to prefer this

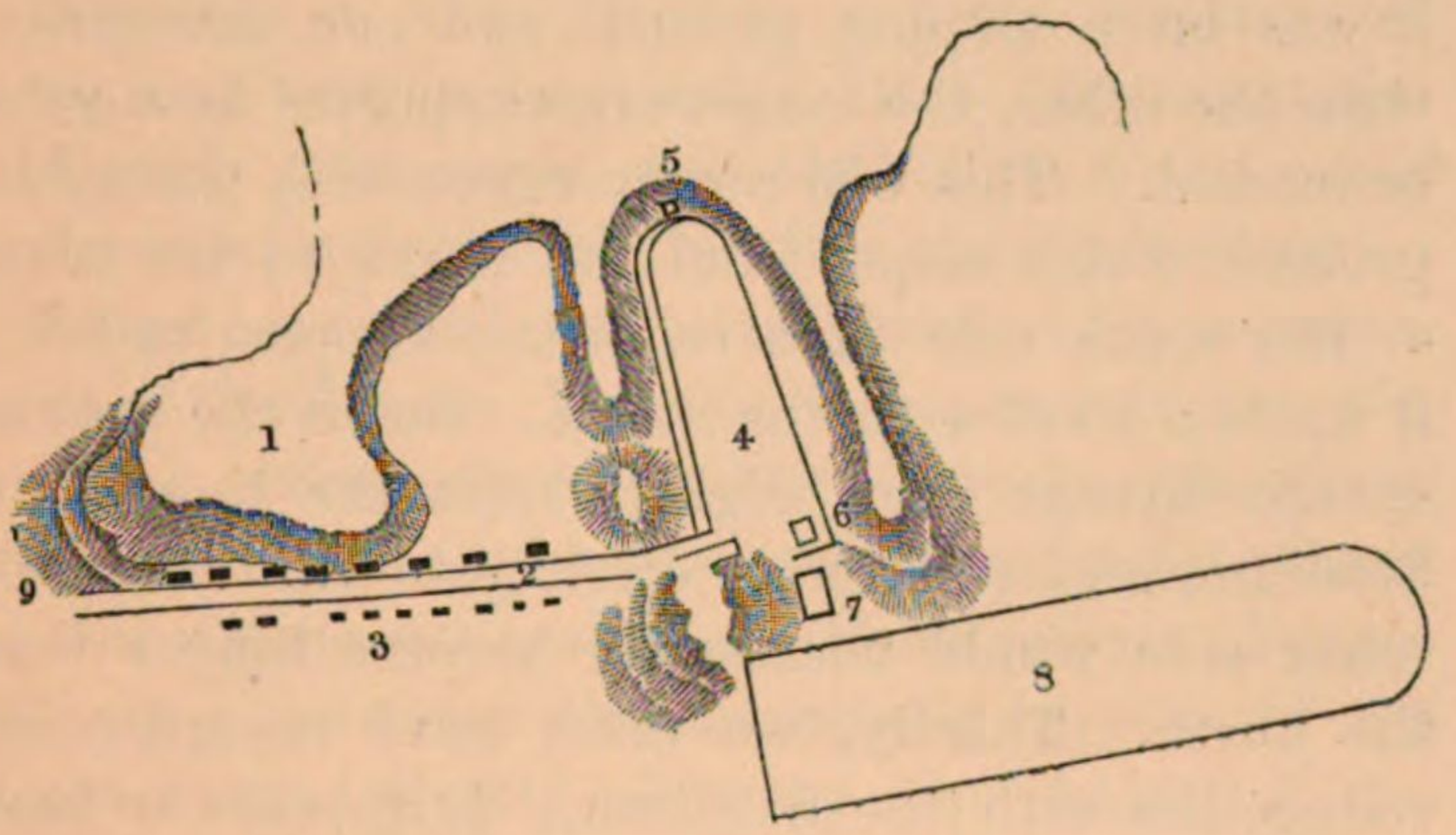
site. But his reasoning is not conclusive; and his map is incorrect, given in his work as below.



1. Mount Kronion.
2. Stadium.
3. Hippodrome.
4. Temple of Demeter.
5. Grave of Endymion.
6. Zanes.
7. Treasuries.

This is not the exact representation of the ground. The promontory, where he places the tomb of Endymion, does not end so abruptly, but is continued down to the hillock of his Temple of Demeter, with only one or two interruptions which allow passages. The hillock itself is more on a line with the extremity of the eastern tongue of land, and just about the spot where we may rightly fix the temple, as will be seen later. This tongue of land looks like made earth or a mound, *χῶμα*, answering the description of Pausanias. Curtius fixes no precise position for the seat of the Hellenodikæ, though it is said that they, as well as the competitors, the *ἀγωνισταὶ*, entered from the termination of the row of Zanes: and it is exactly at this spot, to the north-west of the hillock, that such a passage occurs. Opposite, we can imagine the altar on which the

priestess of Demeter Chamyna was allowed to sit, and which from its vicinity to the hillock may have been connected with the temple. We are, therefore, inclined to select the second valley for the site of the Stadium according to the following map.



1. Mount Kronion.
2. Secret entrance.
3. Zanes.
4. Stadium.
5. Tomb of Endymion.
6. Altar.
7. Temple of Demeter.
8. Hippodrome.
9. Treasuries.

The situation of the tomb of Endymion is more difficult to determine. Curtius places it at the other extremity of the Stadium, which at first sight seems justified by the words of Pausanias—*πρὸς δὲ τὸν στάδιον τὰ πέρατα*; though he adds, *ἢ τοῖς σταδιοδρόμοις ἄφεσις πεποίηται*. Yet the *ἄφεσις* was usually at the other or square end of the Stadium, as in the Hippodrome here, and not at its curved extremity. However, as matters seem to be reversed, and as the Hellenodikæ, on all evidence, sat at the square end, we cannot, despite the above fact, refuse coinciding in the position assigned to the tomb by Curtius.

The site of the Hippodrome by the above arrangement becomes comparatively easy.

And first, its direction. We know it was not a continuation of this line, but ran eastward — therefore at an angle: for the Stadium ran nearly north-west by south-west. Secondly, its position: it was on a sloping ground, and one side longer than the other, the longer one supported by a χῶμα or mound. This will nearly agree with the actual ground, which slopes from the north to the south — the south side thus requiring support to bring it up to a level with the north. But if the ground should diverge even slightly from the line of the Stadium, and run more directly to the river, the south side would necessarily become longer than the north. Thirdly, we must have regard to its connection with the Stadium. It appears to have been adjoining. The Hellenodikæ, on leaving their seats in the Stadium, got at once into the aphesis —ἄφεσις—of the Hippodrome: but Pausanias uses the word ὑπερβαλόντε, "getting over," which would perfectly coincide with the lower part of the hillock, and which they would have to pass before descending into the ἄφεσις. This ἄφεσις, again, rested on the stoa, which must have been a portico standing on the hillock. But there are even other evidences. For instance, the Priestess of Demeter was allowed to witness from the temple the games of the Hippodrome. The temple is described as connected with a hillock, at the side opposite to the mound—that is, towards the north, and at the extremity of this hillock. No eminence of the kind exists, but the one already described; and no other extremity is discernible, which will

not place it outside both the Stadium and Hippodrome, unless the one already designated, to the south. This hillock, therefore, may be taken as the connecting point between the Stadium and Hippodrome, which, once admitted, the remainder of the arrangements follow as a matter of course.

Precisely in this locality, a great platform of earth, now enclosed as arable, fairly represents the celebrated race-course, and thus adds a new proof to the determination of the sites already noticed.

Pausanias describes with minuteness the arrangement of the ἄφεσις. In order to ensure fair play, the mode of giving signals, which though sufficiently artificial, was thought worthy of mention at Athens on the monument erected to its inventors. Pausanias also mentions the numerous legends of the Hippodrome, clearly showing the habit of the Hellenic mind in tracing everything to a traditional and legendary cause. The ἄφεσις does not appear to have been more substantial than the other extremity of the course, where, from the difficulty of turning, untrained horses usually "bolted." * He also notices the stabling, distributed by lot, for the combatants, under the seats, it is to be supposed, and not unlike the *vomitoria* of the Roman amphitheatres.

External to the site of the games, and especially to the south of the Altis, on the space between it and the river, was the district allotted to the more practical part of the panegyris — such as houses, booths, and baths for the buyers and sellers. Amongst them, stood a dwelling for the descendants

* See the famous description of the "chariot wreck" in the *Electra* of Sophocles.

of Phidias, which was retained, till a late period. The polygonal brick building, which we noticed near the river Kladeus, as also some substructions of a bridge, still standing, are Roman. The first may originally have been a bath, afterwards converted into a Byzantine church. The ground covered by this quarter was considerable, and, taking the situation of the ruins of the Olympeion with the line to the Kladeus, which I pursued, the space given in the map of Curtius is much too small. This quarter comprised the whole population of visitors, exclusive of the priests and combatants.

It would be a difficult task to give even a cursory enumeration of the works of art of all descriptions, which were distributed through this district, and which are mentioned in the pages of Pausanias under the several heads of statues of gods, of victors, of distinguished men, of royal and powerful personages, and finally of offerings or *ἀναθήματα*. Like other sanctuaries in Greece, this one, it is true, was successively plundered, and the spoils, real or false, carried off to Rome and Constantinople, not only by conquerors, but by lovers of art. Still, even after the great spoliation by Nero, it counted 3,000 statues of various kinds; and Pausanias, who travelled in the reign of Adrian, would lead us to believe, that these riches were but slightly diminished in his time. Very little space could have been left for ordinary habitations, amid this crowd of artistic decorations, except on the south of the Altis. It is doubtful, whether an agora existed; and it is more than probable, that the chief site of the panegyris—the south side between the Altis and

the river—was a sufficient substitute. The opposite bank of the Kladeus offered no extension of the sanctuary. The monuments observable there, were of a sepulchral or monumental character—such as the tomb and stable of Œnomaus. Possibly others, either in the form of tumuli or graves, stretched along the Kladeus. Some of these mounds have been recently opened, and human bones discovered, near the mouth of the stream.

The day being advanced, and most of the sites having been examined, we rode up to a small offshoot of Mount Kronion, and dined under a spreading plane-tree: a few passing showers cooled the air, heavy and sultry as it always is in this neighbourhood. After dinner, we again visited the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter. It is evident that Curtius, though keeping pretty fairly to the relative disposition and proportions of the buildings, has not confined the Altis within sufficiently restricted limits. The ruins of the Temple lie much closer to the south-west point of Kronion; and this alone brings the whole of the Altis higher up than what appears in his map. This also leaves a greater space for the margin between the Altis and the river, which coincides better with the account of Pausanias, and with the purposes to which that quarter was applied. The Roman or brick ruin is at a considerable distance from the Temple.

At about four o'clock, we remounted our horses, and directed our caravan northward. Passing for a while along the Kladeus, we reached a fountain in the valley and a small khan embosomed in plane-trees. Thence, we gradually ascended the range behind Kronion to the right, amidst the most in-

teresting and the noblest forest scenery. The rocks every now and then rose boldly from the wood, often surmounted with large fragmentary masses resembling dismantled fortresses, and, from the vigorous variety of their red and grey limestone tones, contrasting harmoniously with the sharpness of our evergreen foreground and the mellow purple of the intervening foliage. Sometimes, in the bed of half-suppressed torrents, huge grey masses would rise up like small monolithic temples, intersected with the contorted roots of the silver-barked plane-tree: at other times, suspended mid-way down, they seemed to resemble the great stone gates of sepulchres, or the postern entrances to long-forgotten citadels. Occasional sylvan episodes of small grass-plots would also intervene, broken by the most impractical winding pathways, which showed at each turn a new decoration of the magnificent scene. We had yet passed few districts in Greece, so admirably combining the two classes — the tame and the savage; and this was enhanced by the more pastoral scenery of Olympia and other parts, to which our eyes and imagination had been confined during the last few days. After a delightful ride for two hours, with a delicious weather and temperature, we at last reached a large table-land, from the edge of which, to our right as far as the sea, opened up a lovely view over the low and rich flat κοίλη of Elis,* amid which the most prominent

* The whole of this flat district of Elis has for years past been devoted to the cultivation of currants, a trade which has hitherto proved highly remunerative. Within the last two or three years, however, it is believed to have been pushed beyond the demand in every part of Greece; and the currant crops in Elis, and in many

feature was the long-stretching island of Zante, "*Fior di Levante*."

Over this land we continued our route towards the west, and in an hour arrived at a well-cultivated district, not far from the celebrated village of Lala. Dimitri asserted that, in the present condition of Lala, there was little prospect of our obtaining there a comfortable lodging for the night, and that much better chance awaited us in the new and thriving village of Douka, further westward. We accordingly turned our horses' heads in that direction, the road running between enclosed currant-plantations and other cultivated ground, by the site of an old forest long since cut down, but now allowed to grow up again, and to a certain degree protected —a new feature in Greece. At about seven o'clock barking dogs and noisy children announced that we had reached the village. It could scarcely be detected by any other indication. The houses seem to have got together into a sort of federation, within gardens and hedges — a most estimable novelty— put tidily up, and possessing good wickets and gates. The streets were as rambling as usual: the houses new, large, and well tiled, showing an air of prosperity. The inhabitants bore evidence of comfort and good order, and came out to welcome us. It was a *fête*-day, and the best part of the population was abroad in a little "piazza" or green in the centre: still, as we passed, women and young girls

other places, have partially yielded to cotton. This recent cultivation of cotton promises to be very successful, and it has been undertaken with such vigour, especially in the provinces of Libadia and Thebes, that wages rose there to five drachmas per day last spring. —Ed.

appeared at every door, and many flocked up to us with large bouquets of wild roses, which they proffered the ladies for acceptance with a grace and cheerfulness that doubled the compliment. In the villages of Greece, with few Arkadian exceptions, this courteousness is universal, and contrasts favourably with the almost northern boorishness of Athens.

Within a short time the main portion of our establishment was in part set up in the best house of the village: but the Demarch insisted on lodging me himself, and I followed him across the green to a very simple dwelling, containing two rooms above and two below, with steps outside. I could not sufficiently admire the natural refinement of this man, the care with which everything was provided for my toilet, and all noise and disturbance kept at a distance. As whatever happened could easily be heard through the house, I do not believe that he, his wife, or any of the family, spoke above their breath during the whole of my stay.

I was awakened next morning, by my hostess coming into my room, and presenting me with a large bouquet. We were soon in travelling trim, and spent the time that our baggage was being loaded, in acquiring information about the village. All seemed to be very happy and cheerful: but they too had their grievances. The court of the justice of the peace had been removed, not long before, to a village in the mountains, about ten miles from Douka, less central and less convenient—in the opinion of the Doukans at least—than its original position. At any time, ten miles

was far to look for justice: but, with bad roads and deep snows, in winter it was unapproachable. They thought that justice might at least travel—sometimes stay with them, and sometimes with their neighbours—in which opinion, I cordially agreed. Before quitting, they begged me to mention the matter at Athens.*

* This Sir Thomas Wyse faithfully did, on returning to Athens. The grievance was subsequently redressed, the Doukans expressing their gratitude to him.—Ed.

CHAPTER VI.

LALA AND PSOPHIS.

MAY 23.—We were accompanied by the whole municipal force of Douka on our setting out to Lala. After half an hour's ride towards the east, over the same table-land traversed yesterday, we reached what might with more propriety be called the ruins of a village than a village itself. Crumbling walls were scattered on the brow of a low hill, hardly signifying, either by size or number, their old Turkish importance. Lala was once the centre of a flourishing and brave Mahomedan colony, one amongst the few, who, in the general revolt of their old slaves, showed a spirit which in anywise proved them worthy of being their masters. The Turks of Lala held good relations with their subject neighbours in time of peace, and in the last struggle for life and death, fought with a tenacity and courage which had a higher cause than mere despair. I was prepared for more characteristic remains: but all worth remembering has disappeared, probably obliterated by the new masters. It is now nearly uninhabited, and its vitality transferred to Douka and to more remote villages.

After watering our horses, we proceeded to the north-east, over this extensive and uncultivated plain, towards the base of the northern line of moun-

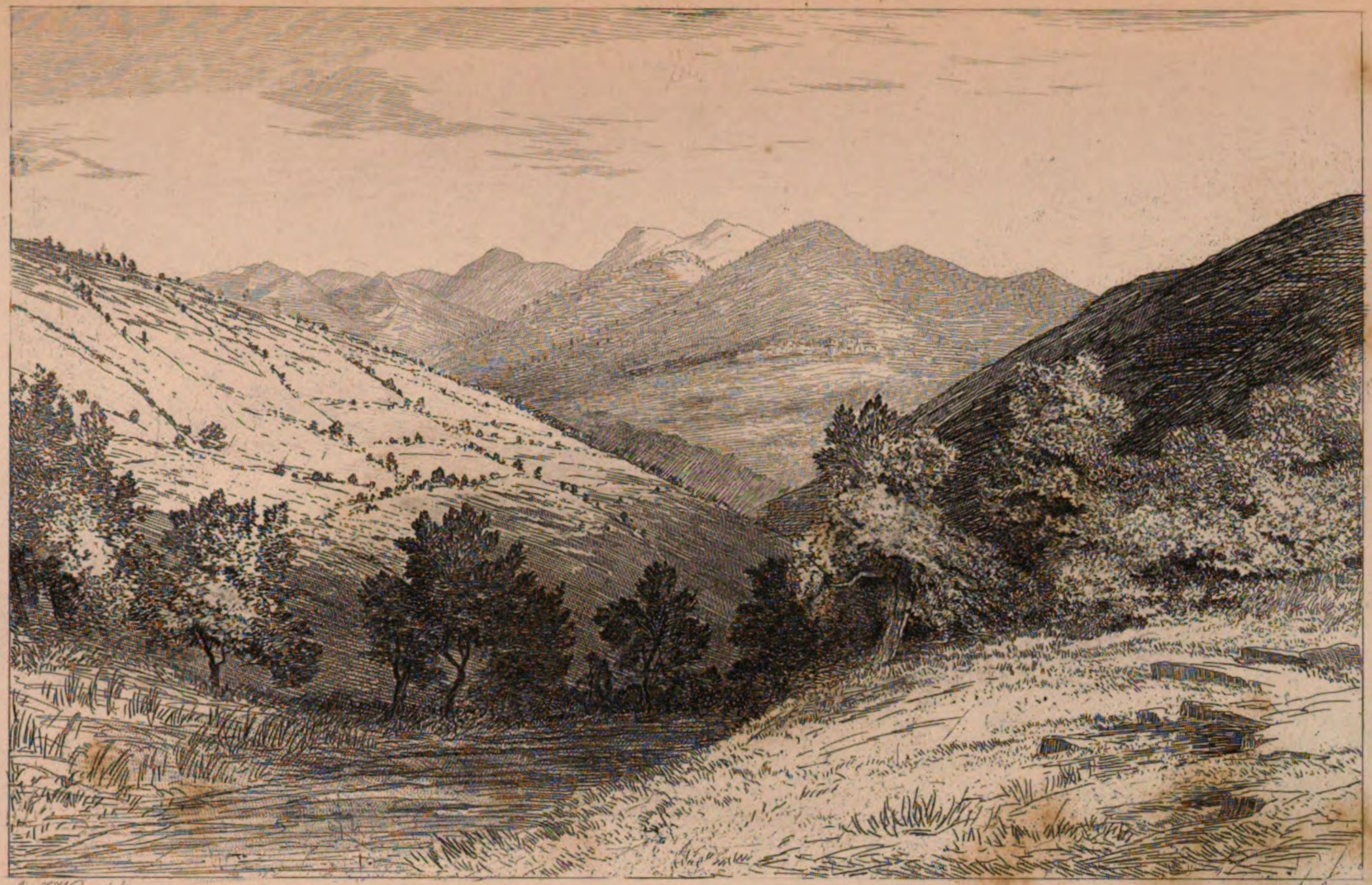
tains. A low brushwood clothes all the elevations; and, though unbroken by larger timber, it testifies to the existence, in former times, of considerable forests. Few tokens of human industry are apparent: there is no village or habitation of any kind. A greenish-brown monotony of vegetation, unrelieved by well, brook, or torrent, pervades the whole: yet the soil is rich and unexhausted, and even shows at intervals adequate provision of good manure. It must have been otherwise in Turkish times; or, how can we account for the existence and prosperity of Lala? My municipal friend, however, explained it, as he thought satisfactorily, in the ordinary vicious-circle mode of reasoning: "the plain was not cultivated, because there was no water; and there was no water, because the plain was not cultivated." A more intelligible solution may be found in the fact, that the immense tract—*jure belli*—has fallen into the hands of the Government. But a village Demarch is a Government authority—above all, to diplomatic travellers.

On making the base of the mountain, our friend pointed out the locality of the battle, or skirmish, of Lala between the Greeks and Turks. Metaxa commanded, and boasts of a wound in the affair, in virtue of which, or of feats not dissimilar, he is now lieutenant-general. The Greeks occupied the heights: they had taken care to secure water, and had from this cause alone considerable advantages over the Turks below, who were unprovided. The encounter promised great results, but ended in nothing decisive. Yet it figures in the modern "Hellenics" of this war, like many a similar small achievement in ancient history among these village

states, and is duly chronicled in the ἐπιγράμματα and other displays, on all great national solemnities.

At the summit, we entered the forest of which much had been told us at Douka, and we did not leave it for three hours. It presents the richest variety of forest scenery. Plane-trees, valonea, and pines stand in masses or separate. Hazel, arbutus, prinari, chrysoxylo, form the intermediate foliage, whilst vigorous groups of myrtle, bay, lentisk, interwoven with agnus castus, fill up the foreground. This forest belongs to the Government, and it bears the usual marks of such proprietorship. It has been cut, or rather destroyed, and apparently at random. Trees, tapped for resin, and consequently perishing, others half burnt, others undermined, not by rule, but as the caprice or cupidity of the trespasser impelled him, show how ineffectual is government control at all times, and here, how directly pernicious. No division of district exists, and no appointment of seasons or limitation of time for cutting the timber: all seem welcome to do what injury they can: what belongs to Government, belongs to every one, and to no one. Yet foresters—δασοφύλακες—there absolutely are, as in France and Germany, and also a sort of second-hand German and French forest code. But the foresters sleep the whole year, day and night, in the villages: at most they pass through the woods two or three times a year. Can a watcher at sixty drachmas a month be expected to keep awake? and the code, as a matter of course, reposes not less soundly in the pigeon-holes of the minister's bureau.

A rough and harsh mountain country succeeded the forest. Passing through stony grey defiles,



Lieut. Wyse, delt. A. Lewin

VIEW FROM THE KHAN OF BIRBISI,
ARCADIA.

where stunted wild olives and ragged firs with difficulty broke their way, we at last reached, in the heart of this region, and on the side of one of these craggy crumbling rocks, the miserable khan of Birbisi.

To enter was impossible. Desiring Dimitri, therefore, to spread our dinner under a plane-tree immediately over a ravine, we strolled about, whilst the meal was preparing, through the wild and broken scenery. Some went after sketches, others to rest, and one on an entomological discovery. In the enthusiasm of science, he was carried down too far into these intricate gorges and tangled torrent-beds. The ground presenting a uniformity of rock and vegetation without any salient point, he lost his way, and rambled up and down in despair for a good hour. At last, we began to feel anxious about our missing friend, and the troop of servants set out in search: nor, was it without a great deal of shouting on the part of the whole company, and rushing to every height, that he was at last recovered. The mules and horses not having finished their meals, nor our party their *siesta*, I wandered down into one of the defiles where lay our road, and completed my sketch of the neighbourhood. A wild, broken-up district it was—the mountains seamed by olives, and here and there topped by villages, not unlike a tamer Switzerland. At the bottom of a deep descent, we reached a rough torrent-bed, with the customary decoration of plane-trees, and following it for some time, we came upon a more open pathway to Tripotamo.

The whole aspect was rough, and dislocated by the perpetual action of mountain wind, water, and

snow. The winter climate is nearly alpine, but with this difference, that it does not leave behind it those vividly green pasturages, in the bosoms and hollows of mountain, edged by a cluster of châlets, which atone for the devastations of winter in Switzerland. Shepherd wanderers are occasionally seen tending widely-scattered herds of goats and sheep flocks: but entire tracts lie silent, stony, and desolate. Great cloven rocks overhead, regularly split and hewn, now and then bear the semblance of some toppling mountain fastness. In other cases, real remnants of ancient defences are confounded with the natural rock. All these small internal states, in a normal condition of unceasing feud and fear, had to look narrowly to every approach, and to keep their sword ready for aggression on every side. No treaty had effect longer than suited the convenience of either party: at best, their treaties were but a series of loose and brief armistices. Border warfare in all countries consists of ambush, surprise, sudden foray, and successful treachery; and every state in Greece stood in the position of a borderer surrounded by enemies. Many of these overhanging cliffs, now so bare, had their castles—φρούρια,—and many now taken by the traveller for freaks of nature, show, on closer examination, substructions of fortified outposts exactly the counterpart of the strata of rock with which they are interwoven. It requires some time, and not a little labour, to reach and examine them; and, when the end is achieved, it turns out to be hardly worth either. But no part of Greece is without a large harvest of shattered citadels, of which traces are every day brought to

light, many more still awaiting the investigations of the archæological traveller — investigations of more importance in a topographical, than in an artistic point of view.

We gradually emerged from these defiles, into a plain somewhat better cultivated, and shut in by two ranges of mountain. At its extremity, a rather lofty summit, vast and gloomy, seemed to bar our passage, or to intimate that the plain we were traversing was only an interruption, a favoured exception to the general ruggedness. Over its whole extent, no village, and scarcely a habitation, was perceptible. As sunset approached, our Agoyiates talked wildly of khans and monasteries, but we could not yet discover any. At length, the evening sun struck on a small dwelling, a few miles distant. This single house in the middle of this desert was the—khan. But the village? "There is no village," answered our guide. "It is the khan of Tripotamo." In another half-hour we stood before it. A more forbidding lodging it were impossible to imagine, or one more deserted. At pistol-shot distance, were some enclosures for cattle; and a ruined church, once connected with a monastery, stood on the declivity opposite. All was silence. Even the khan seemed untenanted. It was not without effort that we brought ourselves to enter it, scrambling as we could up the broken steps: and yet it had rooms and "apartments," though no kitchen, and we had to dig a hole in the neighbouring earth for our cookery, which fortunately was simple. Then, by the waning twilight we made a reconnaisance of the surrounding scenery.

Tripotamo, or Tripotamos—so called from the

junction of the "three rivers," the Erymanthus, the Aroanius, and Liopesi—is the ancient Psophis. The mountain opposite was the site of the town and citadel, and the river flowing between, is one of the three from which it takes its modern designation. The Liopesi runs immediately behind the khan. The long ridge of hill, higher than the lower part of the mountain facing us, was that on which Philip encamped. I walked down to the bridge, which separates the plain from the site of the town, but had only time to remark its high Turkish form, and the rush of the stream below, when the night closed in fast, obliging me to return to the khan.

May 24.—The sun had not yet risen above the hill, and it was a clear cold mountain morning, such as might be expected in this rough district, when I sallied out to the opposite bank of the river. On arriving at the bridge noticed last evening, the picturesque effect of its construction, with its ancient planes and oaks, was striking. As one of those sharp-pointed narrow bridges, found in more or less preservation all over mountain Greece, it is ascribed to the Turks, the inheritance from an earlier age. They are significant indications of the height, to which these mountain waters rise in the sudden storms of rain and hail, that occur so frequently during the autumn and spring, and after the melting of snows in the beginning of summer. Few places exist in Greece where such effects have been more felt, and few are more exposed than this locality. The stream, spanned by the bridge, and rushing over rough blocks of stone and round the roots of plane-trees, is the Erymanthus, an old

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PSOPHIS,
ARCADIA.

acquaintance, which we had crossed lower down, near the termination of a lengthened course, and previous to its junction with the Alpheus. It passes through a rather narrow defile from the east, bounding the site of Psophis to the south, and leaving a low margin of land on either side, but especially on the right bank, between its waters and the city wall. A little beyond, the Aroanius, also rising in the Arkadian mountains, joins the Erymanthus to the north of the bridge, and the two streams united flow onward to the south, under the name of Erymanthus. The Liopesi, which flows behind our khan from south-east to north-west, meets the Erymanthus, and the river thus augmented is then compelled to pursue its course westward. The valley of Tripotamos, as well as the valley behind, through which runs the increased Erymanthus, forms portion of the territory of Psophis. This territory was supposed by Polybius to lie about the centre of Peloponnesus, and to the west of Arkadia. From this circumstance, like Kleitor and Kynaitha, Psophis was very wavering in its alliances, adhering, however, mostly to the Eleians, as a balance against the ruder Arkadian power, which pressed it in rear, and sharing in common with these two other towns the animosity and apprehension of their parent stem, natural to all these small outlying autonomies.

To this connection with Elis we must ascribe the success in commercial dealing, which Psophis seems to have maintained with Zante, remarkable for a town so inland, and apparently with such little resources. Since its ruin by Philip, it has not made a single step towards recovery. It was

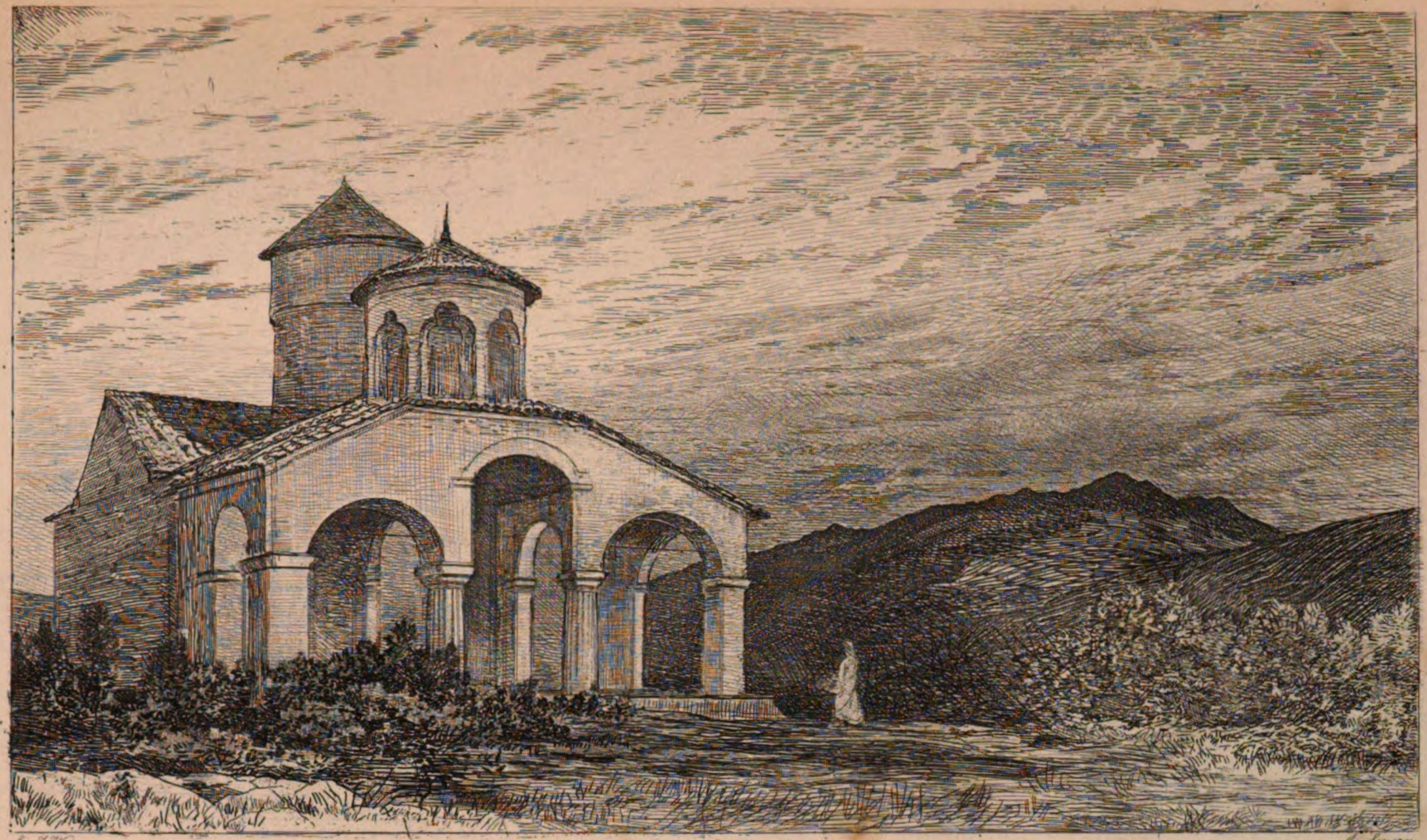
in decay in the time of Pausanias. At present, from the causes indicated, it is deserted. The hand of Hercules was required to restrain the rivers; whilst fear of inundation in winter, and of intense sultry fever-air in summer, has driven what little population it ever possessed to the mountains. The same might be said of many other small valleys in Greece. They early reached that diminution of inhabitants, which rendered a struggle against nature difficult and wearisome, and also at the same time exposed them to attacks—ending in compulsory emigration. It has, on the other hand, capped the summits of the roughest mountains with villages, although there, too, dangers and inconveniences had to be overcome. This was eminently the case, after every change of quarters or termination of barbarian irruption. The population, almost in mass, fell inwards on to the mountains. The operation is very visible in the case of Psophis and its neighbourhood, and is a condition never to be forgotten in treating of the ancient and modern colonization of Greece, and of the race and blood of its inhabitants.

The low situation of the valley, and the junction there of the three streams, would naturally expose it to the violent effects of sudden storms. The day we passed through it was extremely fine, and the snows had hardly yet commenced to melt: but Vischer, who travelled in this same month, was not so fortunate. In noticing the place, he says, "Of the suddenness with which these waters can overflow their banks after rain, I had seen a convincing proof. I left Kumani in the morning in the clearest weather, and the universal heavy dew had led me

to expect, on our weather theories, that it would continue fine during the day. But my anticipations were destined to be foully disappointed. Above Tripotamos, I was surprised by a violent storm, with rain as if the clouds had burst, in consequence of which half the valley was under water, and on the road which we had to take up to Sopoto, a real mountain cataract came roaring out against us." Not without reason, therefore, was this sharp-tempered river-god held in such respect by the ancient Psophidians. Thus, in early periods, the river Erymanthus was in high repute as a local deity. He had his temple and statue, and was propitiated for his power and irritability. Provisions were, however, made against his ill-humour and its consequences by the erection of canals and dams, as in other plains and valleys of Greece. He gave the most ancient name to the city; and some interpret the myth of the Erymanthian boar, not in its literal sense, as referring to a peculiarly savage breed, of which the mythic animal was the type, but to the river itself and its devastations, which, though not conquered, were tamed by Hercules and rendered serviceable, as the stream itself was later by turning it to purposes of irrigation. This may turn somewhat on the fanciful love for allegorical interpretations, in which his Lernæan and other exploits have been dealt with, but it is not without its verisimilitude. Almost all names bear a local interpretation of the same kind. We have the name of the founder Φηγεύς—fagus; ἀλφεσιβοία, the name of a fountain, another word for ἀρσινοή—Arsinoe—the daughter of Phegeas, particularly in its relation with pasturage, characteristic of the rich

meadow-land of the two subject valleys, and of the secluded pastoral existence of these mountain regions. Even Psophis—Ψωφις—itself may not be remote from ψόφος, *i.e.* the noise and roar of these mountain torrents. The names of other rivers bear reference to such qualities. We have a "Ram" in Achaia. It is not therefore too extravagant to interpret into the devastations of the Erymanthus, the devastations of "the wild beast which rushed from the mountains, called the Erymanthus."

The Erymanthus thus bounds Psophis on the south and partly on the west, to its junction with the Aroanius; the Aroanius completes the western boundary; on the east, it is open; but on the north, the hill rises in two different stages into an Akropolis. Taking the path to the right on crossing the bridge along the Erymanthus, as it flows down its gravelly bed, then following a gentle ascent up to the site of the town, amidst planes, dwarf oaks, and other trees, I directed my steps to the monastery, having the whole mountain view before me. The monastery, like most in Greece, stands in a square enclosure with a high wall, the gate of which was now closed. On entering, I found myself in front of the church. It is Byzantine, though differing in many particulars from the ordinary model. The vestibule or pronaos is composed of three arches, the centre or highest supporting two cupolas. The arches rest on Doric pillars, not of the earliest order, with their echinus and abacus entire. Other similar pillars are interspersed throughout the building, and amid the habitations which surround the court, in the customary style of Greek convents. The upper



CHURCH AT PSOPHIS,
ARCADIA.

portions are not fluted, implying that these columns were unfinished. The flutings of the lower part are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. The columns are composed of tufo, bound together by double plugs, thus: The echinus in some cases is very flat. Travellers seemed disposed to fix on these remains as the fragments of the Temple of Aphrodite, which was among the few places worth noticing at Psophis. It had the surname of the "Erycian," which indicates connection with Sicily: but no inscription has been discovered to warrant this presumption. The proportions are not large, and it may have belonged to any other structure. At the same time, no other fragments of equal importance exist on this ground. The convent and church would presumably have taken advantage of all fragments that could be gathered together. It is still less certain, that this surname points out any particular site, though, generally speaking, convents may be fairly considered as the direct successors to ancient temples, and as occupying their precise sites.

The convent is now entirely deserted, and wears a melancholy look of neglect, in its broken shafts, crumbling walls, and tall rank vegetation. Turning south on leaving, towards the Erymanthus, I observed immediately above the river, and amidst a good deal of wood near a fountain, traces of a considerable building running parallel to the stream. The wood was thickest at the fountain. The walls were solidly built, of ordinary square Hellenic masonry: yet scarcely more than a first course remains. It is an oblong of some size, but shows no ruins inside or outside, so that it can hardly be

considered as the site of a temple. Several loose squared stones are lying about, over the whole surface of this side of the hill, but especially near the river. The line of the south city wall is easily traceable the entire way, though considerably broken at intervals. It runs just above and contiguous to the river.

It were difficult to say to whom, or to what, these remains are to be ascribed. The Psophidians dedicated a temple* and a statue, as we have seen,

* *Ψωφιδίοις δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρυμάνθῳ ναὸς ἔστιν Ἐρυμάνθου εἰς ἄγαλμα.*—(Paus. vi. 6, 7.) A medal, quoted by Curtius from Mionnet (ii. 254, Suppl. iv. 290, f. Julia Domna, ΨΩΦΕΙΔΙΩΝ), is thus described :—" Fleuve couché (Erymanthus), la main gauche appuyée sur une urne et la droite levée sur une fontaine ; par derrière un arbre, deux poissons." If the *ἄγαλμα* furnished the type, and was actually in the Temple, as may be supposed, this would accurately express the position of the ruins just noticed—a little above the stream, the fountain a little below to the right, to which the hand is directed, and the wood around. On the other side, it is not very easy, in their naked form, to distinguish between an *οἴκημα* and the *ναὸς* of a temple. The *οἴκημα* of Alkmæon is thus given in Pausanias :—*Τέθαπται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμαίων ἐν Ψωφῖδι ὁ Ἀμφιαράου, καὶ οἱ τὸ μνῆμά ἐστιν οἴκημα οὔτε μεγέθει, οὔτε ἄλλως, κεκοσμένον*, which might mean that there were neither external nor internal decoration nor pillars. The cypresses with which it was surrounded—*περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*—were so high, from being so well preserved, that they threw their shadows on the opposite mountain—*τὸ ὄρος πρὸς τῇ Ψωφῖδι*—which can only denote the mountain at the other side of the Erymanthus : the setting western sun might have that effect, but still the trees must have been near the river. They were called *παρθένοι* by the inhabitants, and considered sacred to Alkmæon, bearing, no doubt, some legendary connection with a metamorphosis. To this day, the cypress always surrounds the *μνῆμα*, or tomb, and is regarded with special reverence by Turk and Christian. The wood of the cypress was supposed to be incorruptible. See the traditional respect it received at Olympia. The *μνήματα*, or heroa, of Echephron and Promachos may be sought in the small remains on the hill, or in the sacellum-like wall near the

to the Erymanthus, to propitiate his wrath, immediately by its banks; and the medals of the river deity exhibit him, after the usual precedent, in a recumbent posture, and pointing to a fountain. So far, these particulars accord with the site and structure in question: but, on the other hand, the building itself hardly agrees with the general conditions of a temple. It may be the monument of Alkmæon, the son of Amphiaraus, which is especially mentioned as an οἴκημα by Pausanias, and was remarkable for its simplicity. It was surrounded by cypresses, probably in the neighbourhood of the river, and was preserved with religious care. Monuments also existed here to two other mythical heroes,—more problematical, Promachos and Echephron: but, in the opinion of Pausanias, they were not significant. From amongst these three, we have to choose.

The declivity of the mountain may be considered the πόλις, or city, and the high point above it the Akropolis.* The height is crowned by a line of wall, stretching to the extreme point east, which, after reaching the extremity on the other side, descends along the lower ground of the town, just above the Aroanius. I took this way, on returning to the khan, by the footpath leading from the bridge. Large traces of wall of good construction are here discernible.

river. Their names are indications of "moderation" and "defence" —both being qualities cherished by the Psophidians.

* The Akropolis does not here form one single point: on the contrary, it is boldly broken towards the north and west, on which it is very precipitous. This is observable especially from the banks of the Aroanius. The opposite side faces the hill of Philip.

The Theatre, cut in the rock, is found with difficulty. It lies at the entrance of a valley or hollow, followed by the two arms of the Akropolis, but which, from the elevation of the ground, appear much smaller than as given in Leake's map. The seats are so much ruined, and the Theatre itself is so diminutive, and so coarsely hewn, that it is scarcely intelligible. Returning by this route, I had an opportunity of noticing the bold position of the walls and the steepness of the rocky sides of the Aroanius,, strongly distinguishable from those of the Erymanthus, and in themselves a very formidable defence.

Coming back to the bridge, I met a group of female peasants on the way to their day's work: a mother and two daughters, one about fourteen, the other six or eight, were amongst the foremost. They stopped before a broad spreading plane-tree, on a bright green sward near the river, and raised hands and eyes for some moments, in the attitude of prayer. On closer inspection, I perceived a small rudely painted figure of the Panagia suspended amidst the foliage. Below, the little grass plot was framed in with an edging of stones — masses of Hellenic wall, probably taken from some temple near. It was a rude picturesque sanctuary. The prayer was not long—a few minutes only—but earnest. They were going probably to a heavy day's work, if we may judge from the condition of the female peasantry in this country. It was a consolation to the poor labourer, in the beginning of such a day, to have heaven at least to look to. The entire solitude of the place, save from the rush of the Erymanthus over his rough bed close by,

and the "susurrus" of the morning breeze amidst the plane-leaves, the slant rays of the early sun —it was scarcely six o'clock—the solemnity, the gloom almost of the high mountains, the scattered ruins around, all combined to raise the feelings to a tone according with this action. It is the universal type of the South, whether Greek or Latin: all feel the need of religion, and none seem ashamed of it.

No Greek passes a church without crossing himself, as a mark of respect; and the same practice is extended to chapels and images. These images in trees are not unfrequent, though few only of them are old. They have undoubtedly been replaced, from time to time: but the names of the original dedicators have been lost, and the tradition broken. In their churches, even when these are otherwise ruined and deserted, the Greeks often denote their reverence by outward signs, such as the burning of a light, which is perpetually replenished by some pious soul. Numerous instances of this kind occur in and near Athens, among the countless chapels of Attica. Such lights are not connected liturgically as a symbol with any salient dogma of the faith, as are, for instance, the Paschal candles. They are always special in their application, both with Greek and Latin. Nor are they confined to Greek and Catholic, for I remember noticing several similarly applied in the now Lutheran church of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg, as also in another church of that town, where the lighted lamp hung before a stained glass window, and was kept burning continually, in consequence of a vow, and a bequest following the vow, about the period of the Reformation.

The opposite hill is signalized by the encampment and attack of Philip, given in Polybius. On the spot, it is easy to conceive how this was carried out. Except on the east, the town was inaccessible. The Erymanthus presented no difficulties in a favourable season, and the small margin between the river and the wall permitted an arrangement in fording not practicable at the Aroanius. The ground of the town above the river is not high, and is easily passable. It is observable, that all the line of wall, though traceable on this side, has disappeared. This must have occurred early, perhaps in consequence of the attack of Philip, which the town never recovered. The convent, of course, has laid all stones under contribution for its erection, but abundance existed in its more immediate neighbourhood: the Erymanthus may occasionally also have carried away many fragments. These two plunderers alone could have influenced the destruction of the wall, for there is no village and scarcely any habitation in its vicinity.

I returned by the bridge to the khan, my route affording a striking view of the whole mountains from the banks opposite, and on my arrival found everything ready for our departure.

Resuming the road I had just passed, after crossing the bridge, along the line of the city and by the banks of the Erymanthus, we soon reached the wall, to the east of which large fragments are still visible up the flanks of the mountain, with occasional indications of towers. As we were quietly jogging along, one of our party found to his dismay that he had left his purse at the khan, or surmised

with less charity that it probably had been taken from him. The khan and people about were suspicious-looking, and very much what a popular novelist would select for such a tragedy. Dimitri at once rode back, on his over-laden horse, to the inquiry or rescue—a task he entered on with as much clamour as intrepidity. The khan lay but a short distance off—a quarter of an hour. We patiently waited for nearly half an hour, and yet no Dimitri reappeared. All manner of conjectures as to his fatal end were afloat. Old Baba Giorgi shook his head, and had no doubt on the matter. Then Dimitri's manner was never very propitiatory, and he had to deal with fierce men, wild Psophidians, who had not degenerated from their ancestors. Upon brief counsel, it was decided to send Baba Giorgi after him, and some way or other to come at the bottom of the mystery. Giorgi took an aide-de-camp and was preparing for the perilous enterprise, when to his joy, on more accounts than one, Dimitri was seen emerging from the woods near the river. There had been words it was true —how could it be otherwise?—but no brandishing of yataghans, and not much swearing. In short, the purse was found; it had been carefully packed up; all parties were satisfied, and Dimitri rode on in front, like a man who had defied all danger and performed an exploit.

The road leaving Psophis is close, and though not wooded (the mountains are only spotted with olives, over a dim coat of herbage), yet it now and then has picturesque groups. This, however, is of short continuance: it breaks early into bold and bleak scenery, on quitting the river.

We now found ourselves in the roughest high land of Arkadia; a dreary region of mountain rising behind mountain, intertangled in a manner which baffles description, and nearly as much travelling. Villages at various heights, nestled in little clumps of foliage, marked their wants and habits by occasional strips of cultivation, which appeared lean and meagre enough compared to the surroundings of arable or pasturage. The road gradually became worse, more and more rugged, winding, after the Lakonian fashion, up the almost perpendicular faces of rocks, by the narrowest possible zigzag ledges, and over torrent-beds and precipices. With the aid of a little mist, we should have had all the realities of the lines in Göthe—

"Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg?"

But the day was clear and sunny, detecting every wrinkle in the highest summit, and showing afar off, before reaching them, the dangers and distance of our journey. Escape from these defiles looks impossible, so many are the ranges of mountain one behind the other, the road standing out conspicuous for many a mile, with little appearance of an issue until the very end of the ravines is reached.

After a toilsome up-and-down ride, which more than once puzzled the sagacity of our guides, we arrived at the ridge of a long comb of rocks, apparently commanding the greater portion of this central mountainous tract. The other side looked over some of the most remarkable mountains in the peninsula. The ridge was scarcely wide enough for our horses to rest on, and the other slope towards

the village of Zophanos revealed a descent peculiarly shelving, crumbling, and innocent of all visible road. Zophanos lay within some wood in one of its recesses. Here we had another adventure. Our artist and the baggage disappeared. We shouted and clamoured a long while to no effect, when at last a speck in a gorge far below was discerned. It looked like a detachment of our party, and our Agoyiates assuring us that, sooner or later, it would find its way to Zophanos, we delivered it up to its fate. The passage on this side was almost impossible, and at all events very tedious. We determined, therefore, on trying another and shorter one, turning off into a stony defile to the right; but we had hardly started ere all were obliged to dismount. There was no road, not even a torrent-bed. A burst of simple ruin from both sides of the mountains, a confusion of huge shattered masses and blocks overgrown with brushwood — stiff thorny brushwood — striving for mastery with the flinty sharpness of the rocks of Greece, tough tree-roots and brambles, entangled in deep-rifted clefts from winter streams, fronted and flanked a precipitous descent for some miles. A breeze there was, but keen and fitful, whilst a vertical May sun shone overhead. How we escaped without fracture of limb, or loss of horse and baggage, or how we reached the bottom at all, we cannot even to this day understand. However, after all sorts of skilful turning amidst this labyrinth, for more than an hour, we and our horses at last received the reward of our labours, and came out upon a tolerably smooth road, which by a little winding finally ushered us into the village.

Zophanos lies on the side of a steep hill, over a small mountain torrent, where to our surprise we found some water. It is used for mills, and lower down the torrent spreads into a broader bed on its way to the plain of Kalavryta. The houses peeping out from amidst the trees make a cheerful effect until you enter the village, when the usual disorder of dwelling and pavement is striking. To get up or down its ragged lanes is no easy matter. Zophanos contains a healthy population—joyous souls enough, who amused themselves with our Agoyiates, and seemed well pleased to offer our party any little offices in their power. The younger Agoyiates professed to have come for the purpose of choosing partners for life amongst their families, but they thought it was better to defer the final selection until their return journey: parents and brothers pressed for the decision at once, and the maidens fled into the gardens—

"Ad salices, sed se cupit ante videri."

The land immediately about is tolerably cultivated, thanks to the village population and water, and the mountains make a tolerable show of olives.

The aspect from the other side is still more bold and broken. We could find no place in the village itself, to answer proper arrangements for dinner. Our servants, however, promptly discovered a most agreeable situation under a fine spreading plane, close to the stream, and open to all the streams from the mountain gorges we had just passed. Meantime Signor Lanza and the baggage joined us. Having completed our meal, and stolen a little rest, we resumed our saddles for Kalavryta.

The first part of the road disclosed the mountains immediately facing Zophanos, bounding on either side a valley, which gradually widened. The scenery was much milder, but the travelling scarcely less difficult. The road, on leaving the village, wound along the mountain side to the right. A very practicable bridle-path could easily have been formed here: but the one we followed was neglected, and the sloping nature of the narrow ledge of loose earth, gapped in many places by the stones which rolled down in the winter, had rendered it, even at this season, unpleasant if not perilous. We kept ascending for a considerable time, and then slowly redescended into the valley, for which we had no reason to grieve. The higher parts of the road, though not absolutely over the precipices, were elevated above the plain; and had our horses slipped, there was nothing in the way of tree or undulation to break a fall, or stop our rolling over the smooth brown grass, till we reached the bottom. Happily all, baggage included, got along unscathed. The plain increased in width as we proceeded, and improved in cultivation. A rude kind of irrigation, to which the ground was favourable, seemed to be kept up; and the winter waters were turned to profit, sufficiently to illustrate the former condition of the valley of Tripotamos, to which this is in a great measure analogous. This valley, bearing lower down the name of "the valley of Kalavryta," possesses, as might be anticipated, a first-rate alluvial soil—the *débris* of the mountains—and is everywhere used as arable ground. There are few trees and little pasturage; but it is well laid out, and shows more

care than is commonly met with in other parts of the Peloponnesus. The grain is grown principally for home consumption; for no roads exist to allow of exportation to any extent, and its central position cuts it off from the coast. The urgent nature of this class of communication is so obvious, that even those, who apologize for the absence of it in other districts, recognize its indispensable necessity here. It is a common plea with Greek political economists, when pressed on the want of roads, to say, "the sea is the natural communication, the great high-road, the arteries of the Greeks: all we want are a few byways—veins, so to speak—to carry the produce down to the coast." But these are the very communications not made, and the country does not yet, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, belong to the coast. Meanwhile, as in this instance, the neglect is a direct discouragement and oppression. Though the greater part of this valley testifies to the value attaching to agriculture, neither the quantity nor quality of the cultivation is such as could be expected under a better system. The plough and hoe seemed to be used with a deal more skill and perseverance than we had yet seen, and some fields through which we passed would have done credit to any country: but these were rather the exceptions than the rule. We saw few villages, and scarcely an isolated habitation. Causes, other than the usual gregarious tendency of the Greeks, are given for this. The intense heat of the sun in the valley, during summer and winter, combines, with the accumulation of water, to generate a fever atmosphere; which atmosphere, though less noxious

than if left to itself, is yet so admittedly such, that Kalavryta, despite its considerable elevation, is noted as one of the fever-holds in Greece.

After two and a half hours' ride, we passed a low bridge, and gradually neared Kalavryta.

On one of the projections of the mountains to our right, before reaching the town, was pointed out to us the Ἁγία Λαῦρα, or Holy Convent, rendered celebrated by the raising of the cross there, as the signal for the insurrection of the Greek people, on March the 25th, 1821, by the famous Bishop Germanos. This is the origin of the annual solemnity, which forms an accepted record in the annals of the nation, after the manner of such recognitions in the old Hellenic histories. The war of independence is supposed, in this popular legend, to have begun on this precise day, and the Archbishop Germanos to have been the first to raise the standard, with which, as a graphic impression of the event, and a determination of the period, no fault need perhaps be found, when the question arises of fixing in the popular affection and imagination the cardinal point of a nation's history. But the war, independently of its first outbreak in the Danubian provinces, had anticipated this date even in Greece. Hostilities had taken place in more than one locality, of minor note certainly, but enough to mark the popular will. It was in this neighbourhood, no doubt, that these had been most important, and the alpine nature of the country had probably a large share in enkindling the people. It is also true that the standard in question was raised, not exactly at the "Laura," but under an oak some little distance off. This standard is still preserved in the convent.

It was described to me at Kalavryta, as differing from the ordinary Greek standard—a white cross on a blue ground, in that it consisted of a white embroidered flag, without cross, but with the inscription πρὸ ἐλευθερίας, — "for liberty." The 25th of March, 1821, is still the great national *fête* of the year, and is still honoured with a triumphal arch before the palace, bearing inscriptions; it has been observed, however, that some of the more significant have been lately dispensed with. They used to run, "To those who died for liberty" on one side; and on the other, "To those who are still struggling for good laws." In their place, at the late celebrations, the simple dates of the battles were substituted. The Ἁγία Λαύρα, in connection with the convent of the same name at Mount Athos, was once rich, and boasted one hundred and twenty-five monks. But this band was broken during the war of independence.

We soon came in front of Kalavryta, which we entered amidst a host of authorities, who came out to receive us in full dress, the streets being filled with half the population, collected together to gaze at a sight so unusual in this remote spot. We felt ourselves suddenly disconcerted, remembering our disordered travellers' costume, still bearing the marks of conflict with brake and bush, and totally unfitted for so unexpected a ceremonial: but there was no time for repairs or reflection. We were at once conducted with every attention and courtesy, but through miserable streets, to the excellent house of one of the chief proprietors, who received us as if we had been long-established friends. Nothing could exceed his hospitality and good

manners; but this is so universal in Greece, that it is difficult to select any instance in particular.

The approach to Kalavryta shows the village or town, resting on the edge of the plain, and at the foot of high mountains, bleak and bare, beyond which peeps Mount Chelmos, still crowned with its winter snows. The two mountains immediately above the town are well seen from the stream flowing beneath.

From the windows of our house, there was a yet clearer view of Mount Chelmos. The town itself, despite some few good houses, is wretched. It suffered much during the revolution, and has never been able to recover itself. A great portion of the buildings not only are in ruins, but wide intervals still yawn between them. The broken ground, on which it is built, very much increases the effect of this peculiarity; and yet rich proprietors exist there who, deriving a good revenue from the neighbouring plain, have fixed their residence, by necessity or choice, in the outskirts. Amongst them was our host, and his house may be considered as perhaps the most favourable type of new buildings at Kalavryta. There are few, however, of similar pretensions amid the general rubbish of the town. The pavement is dust, or heaps of broken stones: the Bazaar, as usual, dark, narrow, gloomy, and dirty.

Sitting down to rest awhile along the divans ranged round the drawing-room, the first topic started by our new friends was the change of the English ministry. The "Athena," fresh from Athens, and announcing the news, was at once put into my hands. This was of far greater interest to

them, than any notice of our journey; and, with characteristic preference for foreign politics, a lively discussion ensued on the consequences, as if Greece could be much affected one way or the other. Ὁ Ῥῶσσελ, ὁ λόρδος Παλμερστὼν, καὶ ὁ κόμης Δέρβυ, proved of absorbing interest, even to those who never left Kalavryta. Visits from all the authorities followed; and old General Petmezas, who had signalized himself in the revolution, soon after entered with his family. They sat round, and made their observations, as far as I could see, according to rank, whilst we were assiduously supplied with pipes. The house had a good number of well-sized rooms, plain but not uncomfortable, furnished with European beds and a fair show of linen, but still bearing the imprint of the East in the unpainted woodwork and the plain white walls. The evening was passed in conversation with our host and hostess. He had much to tell of the locality, but the lady's range of experience was decidedly limited, as neither curiosity nor enterprise had ever led her even to Megaspilion, only two hours' ride from the town; and she assured us, that few fair Kalavrytans possessed more energy than herself.

CHAPTER VII.

KALAVRYTA AND MEGASPILION.

MAY 25.—At an early hour I visited the schools, in company with some of the authorities: for Kalavryta boasts of both a Hellenic and Demotic school. The same course of study was in operation, as in the schools I saw at Sparta and Kalamata, in each respectively: but as regarded knowledge, activity, and cleanliness, there seemed a marked inferiority. The locality of both schools was bad, on sanitary as well as social grounds, and there appeared an air of despondency and sluggishness in pupil and master; the race itself was different: they looked pale, unexcited, and heavy, evincing nothing of the cheerfulness of mental and bodily health I had noticed in other places, especially at Sparta. Of this I attribute much to the fever and marshy air of Kalavryta itself. We were cautioned on that head, before leaving Athens. Whether from that, or perhaps from original causes of blood and descent, the expression of the children was unprepossessing, both mentally and morally, and of one of the worst types I had noticed in Greece. The neighbourhood never enjoyed a high repute in ancient times, and it has not gained much in that respect in modern. The Kalavrytans themselves seemed not insensible to their own deficiencies: for, on returning to Athens,

one of the first things I saw in the Greek papers was a letter from a correspondent at Kalavryta complaining of the unfavourable position which their schools were placed in before strangers, by the want of proper care and appointments on the part of the Government. Here, as in so many other places, kind inquiries were made for the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Hill, the American missionaries at Athens, whose benevolent labours in the cause of female education in Greece are of too long standing and too well known to need comment. Mrs. Hill's kindness and motherly care is remembered affectionately, in many a remote corner of the country to which her pupils return; and, wherever we met those pupils they seemed glad of the opportunity of sending a kind message to their "good friend." It was always pleasant to see how proud the girls or young married women appeared to be of having lived at her establishment, and most gratifying to perceive the kindly feelings that remained, although it would be difficult to imagine it otherwise.

Kalavryta has been for some time considered identical with the ancient Kynætha, but there are no other grounds than topographical conjectures for the supposition. Both names are significant, the modern Kalavryta being expressive of the abundance of water, principally springs, in the neighbourhood — always a distinction in Greece; —whilst the ancient Kynætha denoted the coursing passions of these mountaineers, not confined, however, to them, but common to all Arkadia. The fountain at a little distance—six minutes' walk, or two stadia — is presumed to be the fountain

Alysson —"Αλυσσον — famed for its cure of mad dogs, and in olden times a subject of national interest to the Kynæthians. If the dogs drank of this fountain they were cured, or rather, they had no malady to be cured of.* The rocky mountains called Κυνήγου, or "of the Hunter," above the town, are also quoted as a proof of the hunting tendencies of the inhabitants. No inscriptions or remains, however, in confirmation of this explanation, exist, and the identification of the site rests solely on the merits just described. A more probable conjecture fixes Kynætha higher up, where, amongst these craggy steeps, positions more conformable to the recorded harsh character of the old Kynæthians may be found. Kerpeni, frequented in summer for its good air by those who fear fever, or are convalescent from its attacks, has been suggested, as also Kertesi; but, though lying in the heights of the Keryneian range, forming the boundary between Bura and Kynætha, the most northern point of all Arkadia, and so rough of site and so well supplied with water, as to answer the description of the fountain Alysson, or "Αλυσσον, by Polybius, both Kerpeni and Kertesi are in direct

* This seems to be a quality not confined to the Kynæthan spring. We have the town Lusi—Λουσούς—to the south-east 40 stadia—five miles—a ruin in the time of Pausanias, which had a fountain equally celebrated on the same grounds, near the Temple of Artemis. Here Melampus brings the daughters of Prœtus and cures them. From this they gave the name of Ἡμερησία, or the Mild, to Artemis.—(Paus. *Arkadia*, l. viii. c. xviii.) This quality of the water was not confined therefore to the bite of mad dogs. The ancients had no very distinct ideas of hydrophobia, if we are thus to explain λύσσα. It seems to have been a rage, mental included, of every kind.

contradiction to his censure on the climate, which is here excellent in both, and assuredly not harsher than in other parts of Arkadia. Curtius places Lusi about an hour and a half, or four to five miles, to the east of the present town. Kynætha fell into obscurity after the Achæan league, and neither Ptolemy nor any later writer mentions it. The present town of Kalavryta, which shows only some graves, is probably of Byzantine origin, as is proved by its highly Hellenic designation.

The ancient Kynæthians are denounced, as well as their climate, in no measured terms by Polybius: * —"Αξιον βραχὺ διαπορῆσαι περὶ τῆς Κυναιθέων ἀγριότητος, πῶς ὄντες ὁμολογουμένως Ἀρκάδες, τοσοῦτο κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς Καίρους διήνεγκαν τῶν ἄλλων Ελλήνων ὠμότης καὶ παρανομία. This charge is confirmed by their not learning music and geometry, a serious defect and a proof of barbarism in a Greek! Bion, the philosopher from the Borysthenes, is accused of similar barbarism,—εἰς ὅλως, καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ γεωμετρίαν διέπιζει.† But it was supported by graver imputations. In no other Greek town, were so many atrocities committed: and this Polybius proceeds to show, from many insurrections and civil commotions. He frequently speaks of internal dissensions caused by a large party of the population, and these were they, who delivered up the place to the Ætolians, and who, in their turn, first put to death the traitors, and then divided the spoil. The Ætolians afterwards proceeded to the houses of others, and put to the torture (a fashion not yet obsolete in Greece) those who were supposed to

* Polyb. l. 4, c. 20. † Diog. Laert. *Life of Bion*, c. vii.

have treasures. Subsequently the Ætolians attacked Lusi, and attempted to plunder the Temple of Artemis there. However, by giving them up a part of the ornaments, they were bought off.

Diogenes, like Bion — *οὐράνιος κύων* — despised music and geometry: but then he did not disapprove cannibalism, besides other more revolting opinions and practices. Contrast his education with that of Epaminondas, under a Pythagorean, which included music, geometry, and gymnastics — the great conditions of genuine Hellenic civilization. The reasons for his opinions are very obvious, and hang together. But these opinions were not confined to Diogenes; they constituted a common dogma with the Cynic, in this as in all things which are paradoxical through vanity.

Pausanias, after a lively description of the Styx, supposes this fountain Alysson to have been designed as an antidote.

At Kynætha, says Pausanias, *Πηγὴ δέ ἐστιν αὐτόθι ὕδατος ψυχροῦ, δύο μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πλάτανος πεφυκυῖα.** Rangabe has found this fountain, which he says gives its name to the place. But it is rather gratuitous to assign the honour to one fountain in particular. Kalavryta, or *τὰ καλὰ βρῦτα*, simply, as the case may be, implies two fountains. In the case of Kerpeni, there is one especially celebrated for its cooling qualities. Curtius does not specify any particular spring, but takes it to indicate general abundance of water. The mountains behind Kalavryta are rude enough, but not so much so as in

* Paus. *Arkadians*, c. xix.

the neighbourhood of Kerpeni,—*σκληρότατος παρὰ πολὺ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τόπος*, says Polybius : but he seems to have had a grudge, on other accounts than the character and party feelings of the Kynæthans.

On a small table-land, or rock, to the east of Kalavryta, at one mile and a half distant, are the ruins of a supposed Frankish castle called Trimala, which Buchon gives to the family of La Tremouïlle. But it was one of the family of Tournay, who held this castle as a barony, with twelve subfeudatories. The Tremouïlle family were settled at Chalandritza. Might it not be a genuine Greek name, *τρὶ μέλος*, marking some characteristic of the mountains ? These mountains are divided into various peaks immediately above the town.

The stream which flows through the plain rises at no great distance behind Kalavryta. It is known under the name of the *Βουλαίκος*, or *Καλαβρύτων πόταμος*—the Kalavrytan river—flowing on to the north through the Kerynæa, and emptying itself into the Corynthian Gulf at Bura. Its ancient name is the Erasinos.

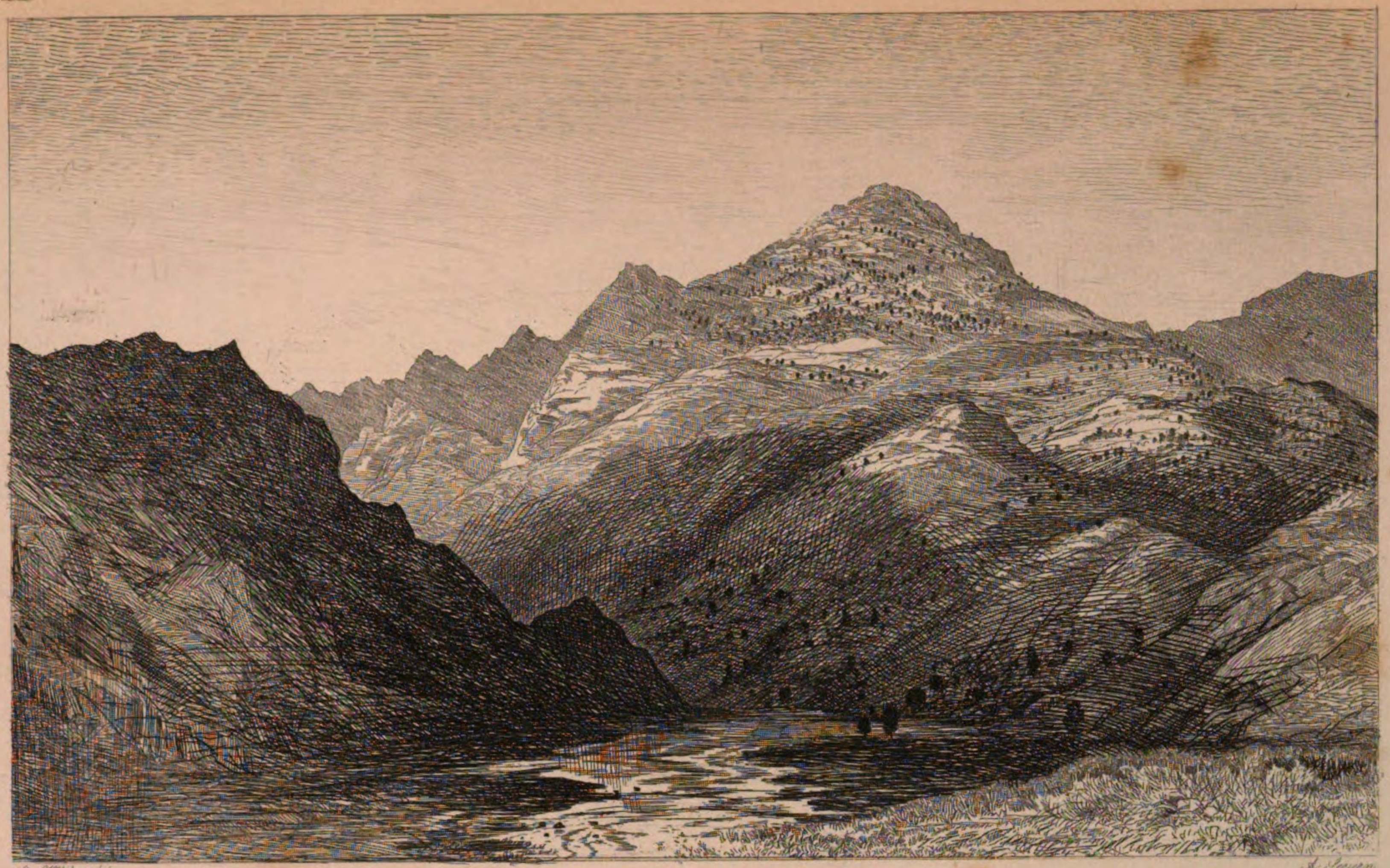
Kalavryta stands at the head of an Eparchy in the nomarchy of Elis, or Eleia. The Eparchy in 1851 counted 40,480 inhabitants, and nine Demoi. The Demos of Kalavryta — or more properly of *Καλαβρυτῶν*,—has augmented in population in consequence of the junction of the two Demoi of Kallipharma and Sudena, to the number of 6,391, of which, however, Kalavryta itself does not furnish more than 1,134 inhabitants, distributed over 250 houses, being an average of four to five to each house. It possesses the river already mentioned, and three small brooks, which have formed a marsh

of some size: but the Demos has little or no wood. Nearly the same phenomena are to be seen in the neighbouring Demos of Bouzaka. The local produce is almost exclusively corn and other grain. We had thought of visiting the Styx from this point, but were induced to abandon the project, the difficulties of the road having been described as unusual. After our recent experiences, such might not have deterred us, but it was accompanied by an assurance that the Styx could boast but a small quantity of water at this season. We therefore decided on pursuing our road to Megaspilion, now only a short distance off.

We left Kalavryta at twelve o'clock, and taking the road to the monastery, followed the course of the river in the plain, escorted, as usual, processionally by the authorities. Several parties were at work, in the neighbourhood of the town, laying down the rich land, but apparently indifferent to drainage or enclosure, the swamps caused by the outspread of the mountain-stream being allowed to take care of themselves. In other particulars, the farming was respectable, considering the heavy soil; but it was remarkable how little thought, as I learned from my companions, was devoted to the drainage, which nevertheless the wetness of the ground seemed especially to require. In one of the fields, a party of women, browned and worn, were working hard, whilst a hale, stout, and comfortable-looking man sat at the end of the field, with his arms crossed, directing them. I involuntarily expressed surprise at such a distribution of labour, and asked the Demarch how it could be suffered. He smiled at my simplicity, answering

that here it was the rule and not the exception: nor could he well see how matters could go on otherwise—so pervaded is everything by an Oriental reversal of duty and toil. In that respect, the moderns are worse than the ancients in their later history, nor is it clear how the defect can be corrected in any class: for, though Greece has passed through Christianity, it has not through chivalry, which is an element never properly seen in the South. The Romance poetry, even of Spain and Italy, is wanting in that special tone of woman reverence, *Frauen-cultus*, which marks all tribes from the Alps northward.

Arriving at a small fountain, we halted for a few moments: then, taking leave of our Kalavrytan friends, with many thanks for their courtesies, we remounted, and, in a short time, still keeping to the river-side, we found ourselves at the entrance of the gorge—it might almost be called, in conventual phrase, the "Desert of Megaspilion." Nothing can be more striking than its first aspect, on turning the angle by the river. Along the left runs the range of the Kerynæa, on the right stands the rocky and bleak Aroania. As we advanced, these features became more stern and gloomy. The mountains began to be broken up into small sharp flinty forms, without wood, which gave a chaotic and disturbed appearance to the scenery, as though the whole had been tossed together by some recent internal convulsion. In the lower stages of the mountains, occasional strips of verdure, and cultivation in terraces, were visible; whilst the river meandered at our feet along the bottom of the defile. The absence of timber and the breadth of



Sir T. Wyse, del.

A. Sowerby.

GORGE NEAR MEGASPILION.

the gorge, as well as the strong sun, detracted from the impression of religious solemnity which so especially characterizes the Grande Chartreuse. The gorge of Megaspilion is simply arid, stern, and harsh.

Continuing our ride through this region, the far-off summit gave the idea that we were gradually approaching a still wilder country than that we had just traversed. Our guides informed us that the convent lay immediately beneath that peak, and that it would come in sight after a few more turns in the path. But, for some time yet we were doomed to disappointment. The white line of the river wound on for a great way before us. At length, after crossing a bridge, and what seemed a mill, we obtained the long-desired view of the monastery. At that distance, it appeared embosomed in various kinds of trees, which stood out well from the grey rocks, and agreed with all preconceived ideas of conventual repose. The peculiar construction of the monastery was yet hidden: but we could fully embrace the higher ground above it, with its double-pointed rock still showing the remains of those small forts which made no inconsiderable figure during the war of independence. It seemed as though we were rapidly nearing the walls, but we had yet many a turn to make up the steep ascent. The approach was a *skala* of the sharpest kind, still over a good and well-kept road, with tolerably built parapets, and behind which flourished a profusion of foliage. As our cavalcade was advancing up the base of the monastery, the bells bestirred themselves, and incessantly pealed us out a welcome, whilst the monks

began a reconnaissance from the several galleries, which rise one above the other in the face of the rock. Every step varied the picturesque outline. Huge masses seemed toppling, and ready to fall upon the out-quarters of the monastery below. Having reached at length the great gate, where was a platform sufficiently large to hold our party, we there found the greater part of the community, with the Hegoumenos at their head, drawn up to meet us. The high tower, the lofty gate, the singular architecture, the compilation and contribution of centuries, the dark and mysterious portal, all contributed to a picture of monastic impressions not easily equalled. We had no view so far of the front: for, standing within a sort of indenture in the rock, we could only see one or two projecting portions through the vine-leaf foliage, now lit up by the westering sun. On dismounting, the Hegoumenos, after the usual paternal salutations, led us into the monastery with many assurances of welcome.

Having passed the stone stairs, and up a rickety staircase, and then along the open galleries which command the valley beneath, we eventually gained the reception-room, which is a good apartment, furnished all round with divans. There had been no attempt at painting or decoration, and the room was arranged in the usual plain Turkish style. On our way to it, we noticed the bells which had just been rung in our honour. They are of the simplest description, and hang in a small projection overlooking the valley, on the same story with our apartment, close by the church, and at no great distance from the entrance to the monastery. This

was the sixth story built within the rock. There were nine altogether. The ladies had to ascend another flight to their rooms, immediately above ours, not without much nervous trepidation, in consequence of the perilous condition of the staircase, which possessed no regular banister or support, though at such a height over the precipice.

This convent, as its name indicates—Megaspilion meaning the great cave—is generally described as built into one large cavern in the centre of the rock. The Hegoumenos, however, assured us that three separate caves exist of different sizes, one above the other, the second of which contained our apartment together with the Church. According to his account and the universally received tradition, it is the oldest monastic institution in Greece, dating from the earliest centuries. It has, however, been destroyed by fire at least three times, and the present building was restored after a conflagration which took place eighty or ninety years ago. In my opinion, the only marvel is, that it escapes burning down every year: for anything more wretchedly constructed, more fragile and shaky, and with less prevision against fire, cannot be conceived. Earthquakes, too, are common in this neighbourhood, and one cannot understand how such a construction can resist a shock. An Englishman once narrated to me how such an event had occurred, when he happened to be lodging for a night at the convent; and the consternation evinced by the community, who knew the enormous mass of superincumbent rock which might have fallen and crushed them, ought to have caused some improvements in strength and foresight against similar

disasters. But apathy still reigns supreme. The recollection of this story, heard years before, seized hold of our imaginations as we entered the convent, and haunted the minds of some of our party until safely beyond its precincts next day, all of us rejoicing, it must be confessed, that we had not added another to our many unpleasant experiences of the power of Poseidon the Earthshaker! Leake states, that the outer wall of the edifice is 12 feet thick, 180 feet in length, and in height sometimes rising to 65 feet. The greater portion, however, is of wretched wood-work, apparently decayed and ready to give way under the tread of the first passenger. Church, storehouses, and kitchens are within the middle and largest cavern.

After the customary compliments, glyko, and coffee, the Hegoumenos proposed to conduct us to the *mirabilia* of the convent.

Returning by the same passage, the church of course claimed our first attention. It is so built as to admit light from the cave behind, and from a gallery in front, which is one continued window. This gallery lights what may be considered the narthex. The entrance into the church is by a smaller door, before which a lamp constantly burns. The church itself is low, rich, and gloomy, built in the corrupt Italian style, with round heavy arches, as is likewise the narthex. This outer narthex answers to the vestibule, portico, or pronaos. It has three domes, of which the centre dome is the largest, and not round, but cylinder-shaped, like those at the side of the church. These domes are supported by pillars, and are covered, like the walls, with mural paintings, partly scriptural, partly his-

torical. One side of the narthex—that opposite the church door—is entirely window, affording a noble view of the valley, whilst marble and wooden seats run around, for the use of those who come to visit the church. The floor is paved with marble, well worked here and there in mosaic. To the left a siren is seen smiling, to the right a warrior brandishing his lance the while — a representation the fathers hold to be typical of the pleasures of the world on the one side, and of the Christian courage by which these can be subdued on the other.

The church also has been covered with mural paintings, the subjects being chiefly scriptural: but the entire decoration is in a modern and degenerate style. The eikonastasion or iconostasis is highly ornamented, though the most interesting portion of the church is that where they preserve an image believed by the Greeks to be miraculous. The shrine was opened, and we were allowed to examine it at our leisure. It appeared to me a *relievo* in wax, of a yellowish brown, and distinguished by superior ugliness. Most of the black paintings ascribed to St. Luke have a certain solemnity and austerity and bear the characteristics of Greek, though very rude Greek, art. This one is deficient in structure and expression. The nose is large and heavy, and the entire drawing clumsy. It does not in the least resemble the Italian engravings circulated as copies by the convent. The Hegoumenos and our other guides gave us the history. I observed, that it was more a piece of sculpture or carving than a painting, and I felt at a loss, as *relievo* or statuary was not orthodox, how he could account for its being assigned to St. Luke. He shrugged up his

shoulders and remained silent, which was in fact the only answer to be returned. Our guides did not seem to think it worth while entering into the history of the traditions and paintings, or perhaps, regarding us as profane, would not throw pearls to swine.

The question of these paintings known as St. Luke's, has been long disposed of in the West. No positive historic evidence can be found, and the whole is reduced to a not very early tradition. The Abbate Lanzi, in his History of Painting, attributes the large number which at one time were claimed for the Evangelist, to a Greek painter of the same name of Luke, who at a remote period travelled in Italy, and who left behind several of these Madonnas, which, by an easy transition, were in a few centuries raised to higher honours. But this is only a half-view of the question, and leaves intact a great part of the discussion, as carried on by the Greek Church. The advocates of St. Luke, while admitting the number of surreptitious copies or imitations by wandering artists, still assert for some, and for this of Megaspilion amongst the first, an apostolic origin and an *ad vivum* resemblance. This involves two questions—the ground of the tradition generally, its date and locality, and the claims of this particular work. It would be tedious and idle to go into all details: but, enough may be briefly stated on both these points to make the controversy clear. I. *St. Luke was a painter.* He was no doubt a physician, ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός, says St. Paul,* but

* *Colòss.* iv. 14.

there is no scriptural testimony to his character of artist. The transition, however, is conceivable from one to the other intellectual occupation; whilst early tradition, often confounding them, substituted one for the other. Such tradition of St. Luke in both Eastern and Western Churches, can be quoted so early as the third century — at least individual and high instances are given of such belief. II. *He painted portraits of the Blessed Virgin from life:* and these have been preserved, during the life of the Holy Virgin herself. Of this the same tradition bears witness, though no explanation is given. He was the disciple of St. Paul, and an apostle from Antioch, not from Jerusalem. It does not state how he could have taken this portrait, nor in what manner the Blessed Infant, her constant accompaniment, could have been comprised in the picture. The Latin Church explains it by a vision—at least, such is the adopted hieratic idea. The Blessed Virgin appears in the heavens to the Evangelist, but he is not without his earthly difficulties. An early artist represents the Evil Spirit mixing black in the colours, and otherwise disturbing the palette, which is a more decorous symbolism than that of the modern Caracci scholar, who places him with grimaces behind the Evangelist's chair. The testimony of the fifth century is limited to one: but it is of a high character, though the statement regarding it is not higher than the sixth. The Empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius the Younger, is related to have sent from Jerusalem, in 430, to Pulcheria, sister of the emperor, one of the three paintings of the Blessed Virgin, "painted by the Evangelist St. Luke:" and

this again rests on the authority of the lector Theodorus, of the Church of Constantinople, who lived about 520, therefore not later than a century after. Other testimonies are given in support of the narrative in the codex of the convent of Soumela, which document, from the absence of accents, some date as high as the fifth century. This codex speaks of St. Luke as a painter, and of him as painting the portraits of the Blessed Virgin: which was further confirmed by Akakios, monk of St. Sabba, when writing the history of the convent of Soumela, about 600. From the succeeding century, abundance of similar proofs can be produced. St. John Damascene, who stood in high repute in the seventh Œcumenic council, writes in 730 to the same effect,* and he is soon followed by a crowd of others; by St. Gregory, Pope, 731; Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 814; Simeon Metaphrastes, 820; Theodorus Stouditis, 780—820; Xiphirinos, 1064; Nicephorus Kallistus, 1280, and many others. III. *St. Luke not only painted portraits of the Blessed Virgin, but as some say, of others.* All the preceding testimonies are uniform on this point, some going into particulars, as they draw near to modern times, and describing place and mode. Eudoxia sends a present of a portrait of the Blessed Virgin as St. Luke's work. St. John Damascene even declares that the first was painted during the Blessed Virgin's lifetime, on Mount Sion; that he employed the usual colours, and painted on panel; and that the Blessed Virgin was so pleased, that she replied, "My favour shall be ever with it;" and that this,

* See *Orationes pro sacris Imaginibus adversus Iconomadios,*—*Opera* S^ti^ Joannis Damasceni, vol. i.

the first model—the *πρωτότυπον*—was afterwards sent to Theophilus.* Nicephorus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 814, classes it with the *ἁγία ὀθόνη*, or holy veil, on which Christ imprinted His Sacred Countenance: but he seems not to confine these paintings to St. Luke,—*ἔπειτα αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἰδιοχείρει εἰκόνες τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦτον τεκούσης.*† Simeon Metaphrastes bears the same testimony, A.D. 820, ascribing to him the first portrait of Christ and His holy Mother; and he further gives the attitude, namely, holding Our Lord in her arms.

The character of this painting at Megaspilion is, with variations, that of others. The monks make no difficulty in recognizing its *relievo* character. They describe it as a panel covered with canvas about three feet square, upon which the image of the Panagia is impressed. They call it *κηρόχυτος*,—of wax—and perhaps of some other medium, and not less than a finger and a half in depth. The canvas appears to have been stretched, in the common modern way, by means of laths at the side. This is entirely out of the ordinary course of Greek painting, which is almost always on panel, very thickly prepared with absorbing gypsum, the medium used being, instead of oil, the yolk of an egg. The Greek priests take this method to be the *κηρογραφία* of the ancients: but the passage of Athenæus,‡ and of Pliny,§ prove the reverse.

The passage in Athenæus obviously applies to

* See Damasc. — *περ. ὀρθοδοξ.* 16; and *περὶ τῷ Εἰκόνιων λόγῳ*, t. i. pp. 281, 321.

† Niceph. *παρὰ Συμεὼν τῷ Μαγίστρῳ χρονογράφ.* p. 304.

‡ Athen. v. 204. § Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36, 11.

the usual vase-painting, which might have been encaustic, but assuredly not in *relievo*. This may be an innovation noticed by Eusebius, St. Chrysostom, and Theophanes, and which might mean *relievo* as well as painting: though this, from the texts, can be doubted. What the ancients call κηρογραφεῖν and κηρογραφήμενα, Eusebius calls κηρόχυτον γραφὴν,* whilst St. Chrysostom, speaking directly of the Holy eikons, says Ἐγὼ καὶ τὴν κηρόχυτον ἠγάπησα γραφὴν, εὐσεβείας πεπληρωμένην, and again in connection with panel-painting, when alluding to the royal portrait. Later, we find the word employed, especially with reference to panel, κηρόχυτον ὕλην; and finally, panel is insisted on principally as contrasted with mural painting, or *a tempera*, the method most used in modern Greek church paintings, though not in those of the eikonostasis, which is naturally panel. Theophanes employs it simply, ὑλογραφεῖν, *i. e.* εἰκόνα. The ground no doubt was always prepared with wax.† Ducange says they not only executed paintings in *relievo*, but even statues.

The dress of the Panagia at Megaspilion is coloured, but on a gilt ground, which was formerly more perceptible: it seems to have given its name to the painting, χρυσοσπηλαιώτισσα, being generally known and venerated under that designation, and especially by the Athenians. At Athens they have dedicated in its honour a small church in the street of Æolus—ὁδὸς τοῦ Αἰόλου—and another in a small cave, formerly the grotto

* Euseb. *Life of Constantine*, c. 3.

† Theoph. *Chronograph.* p. 373.

of the Muses, above the theatre of Bacchus. At present, whether the constant smoke of the lighted tapers, which has also affected the paintings of the Sistine Chapel at Rome, or from the conflagration of 1640, or from the effects of time on the colour, or, in fine, from the original intention of the painter, the picture is much obscured, but not so much as many I have seen. The usual text, so often quoted in favour of the black Madonnas, reconciles one to any of these cases—Μέλαινα εἰμὶ ἐγὼ καὶ καλὴ*—though of course the two verses following fully explain its true application. The attitude of this painting varies from the usual Greek type, in which the Blessed Virgin is represented holding forth her Divine Child to the adoration of the faithful with *both* hands, whilst Our Lord blesses with His right hand, and with two fingers, according to Greek fashion, a feature which in itself at once distinguishes Greek work from Latin. In this instance, however, the Latin arrangement has been followed: the Infant lies resting on the right arm of His Blessed Mother, who touches him gently with her right hand. The Child is wholly clothed. Both have the μηνίσκος or glory round their heads—that of the Child bearing the usual three Greek letters, Α Ω Ν: but there are now no letters on the Blessed Virgin's glory:

* *Canticle of Canticles*, v. 4. The Vulgate translates this text thus: Nigra sum *sed* formosa,—I am black *but* beautiful. It is a text which has ever been interpreted by the Church as referring to the Church herself. But, like many other kindred texts, it has also been in universal use from the first ages, as descriptive of the Blessed Virgin. It occurs as an antiphon, in the Roman Breviary in the Lauds and Vespers of the office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

the customary stars on her brow and mantle are also missing. In the hand of the Infant is a scroll. It is covered with offerings attached permanently, a usage not always in vogue in cases of *ex votos*. Amongst them, is the crown of the Blessed Virgin and Child, of gold and precious stones, said to be the gift of a Byzantine emperor, the founder of the monastery. There are also angels as accessories, painted—not raised—in the picture, who hold up the crown over the head of the Panagia; and, in each of the four corners are seraphims with their six wings, and cherubims with their many eyes. These are admitted by the fathers to have been added by a later hand, as might naturally be supposed from their being simply painted.

The naos forms a parallelogram, the two longest sides of which run north and south. The length from the ὡραῖα πύλη, or "beautiful gates," to the entrance of the bema is 24 feet, and, from this entrance to the farthest end of the apsis, it measures 12 feet 2 inches; so that the total length from the μεγάλη πύλη, or "great gates," * to the apsis of the bema is 42 feet 8 inches, the breadth 33 feet, and height a little more than 36 feet. As Greek churches go, this is above the usual magnitude, though little more than the dimensions of an ordinary private chapel in the West. The centre is surmounted by a dome or cupola, half of which is cut from the rock, and the other half built. In the latter portion are three windows or lights,

* The entrance from the outer into the inner narthex is by the μεγάλη πύλη. This is the only entrance, signifying mystically, that there is but one entrance to eternal life, and that is through Jesus Christ.—(*St. John*, xiv. 6.)

and, at each side, another smaller cupola, in the middle of which are two more windows. The centre cupola rests on four square pillars or buttresses, with octagonal bases, about 12 feet asunder. Immediately beneath is the choir, with panels, thirteen in number, bearing eikons, and in size measuring precisely the circumference of the dome. This dome deepens into a number of smaller domes; and there are, besides, accessory domes or cupolets on each side of the eikonostasis. The bema also has its three domes, or θόλοι, cut altogether in the rock. The central, over the ἁγία τράπεζα, or "Sacred table," is of considerable height; that over the diaconicon to the right stands lower, but is well cut; whilst the dome over the prothesis seems rude and low, owing probably to the bend of the rock. The "Sacred table" —ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα—is supported on a single pillar of marble of various colours, and is canopied by a very rich tabernacle, as we should call it, on small pillars profusely painted and gilt. The eikonostasis, as now seen, was restored, in 1760, by the Hegoumenos Zachary, with the co-operation of the three priors or προηγούμενοι, Jonas, Kallinikos, and Ioannikos: it was gilt in 1764, "during the time that the lord Doritheus was Hegoumenos," and with the aid of the other three pre-named priors. The construction is not of marble, but of cypress-wood, enriched with carving and gilding. Its three doors are, as usual, elaborately ornamented, with the "sacred eikons," on either side, in their proper place. The paintings are divided by columns, and uphold the ordinary rood and frieze. Before the centre door hangs the "sacred veil," richly embroidered

with a picture of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin—the κοίμησις—upon a golden ground.

Round the church, are seats against the wall, and the abbot's throne, where the Hegoumenos stands* on solemn festivals; the ἀναλόγια, or reading-desks for the service; the pulpit, or ἄμβων; and, on the right of the choros or choir, is the smaller prayer-desk of nut-wood — an arrangement observable in many churches, such desks being generally attached to a pillar.

The paintings in the church itself, and in the narthex, are numerous, as above mentioned; and, though not remarkable for antiquity or excellence, they derive a certain interest from the subject, arrangement, and treatment, as also from adherence to the old Byzantine school.

In the centre of the principal dome, is the usual

* To those not conversant with the religious practices of the East, it may sound inaccurate to describe an abbot as "standing" on or at his throne. But, in fact, it is not exclusively the abbot, bishop, or celebrant who remain erect when at prayer, but the attendant priests and the whole body of the Greek laity as well, and from the beginning to the very end of the service. The twentieth canon of the Œcumenical Council held at Nicæa in 325, enjoins that "in all places prayer to the Lord shall be made *standing*." Priests and laity, however, are allowed to rest by leaning against stalls and other supports. In the monasteries, the abbot's throne and the stalls, ranged round the choir, as in the West, serve this need; whilst in the country churches you often see crutches lying about, which are used by the ancients of the congregation. The Russians, however, very frequently kneel, and make many more genuflections than their elder brethren the Greeks. On Christmas-day in Russia this is especially striking, when, at the conclusion of the Litany, a *Te Deum* is chanted, in thanksgiving for the retreat of the French from Moscow. Departing in this also from the practice of the West, the whole congregation then kneel, or rather prostrate, and the effect is certainly touching.—Ed.

figure of the Redeemer, after old Eastern fashion, considerably larger than any other figure, presiding over the government of the world, and looking down with especial love upon the vineyard planted by Him. Our Lord is surrounded by a host of ministering angels, by prophets foretelling, and by the evangelists announcing His divine law. In the bema, in the semicircle of the apsis, is the Panagia raising her hands in supplication to her Son; immediately below, comes a representation "of the Holy Service," *τῆς θείας λειτουργίας*, or of "the Holy Mystery," *ἡ μυστικὴ τελέτη*; while, within the tabernacle, the Holy Ghost is seen descending in the form of a dove, which is here of silver. The eikonostasis has on the right the usual figure of Our Saviour, and on the left that of the Panagia. This latter is a copy of St. Luke's portrait; and they call it the *χρυσοχείρα*, the "golden-handed," from the circumstance of one of the hands being gold or gilt, a time-honoured form of votive offering, and still customary in Greece. It is much venerated, and, in seasons of drought, the fathers of the monastery recite before it their litany for rain. Next follows the entrance to the diaconicon, beyond which is the painting of St. Luke. On the left side of the bema, stands the figure of the Precursor, followed by the Archangel Michael, and succeeded again by the entrance into the prothesis. On the richly-decorated frieze, which also runs the full length of the bema, are nineteen paintings, representing various subjects connected with the festivals of Our Saviour and of the Blessed Virgin. In the centre of this frieze, a cross or crucifixion is given, the figure being painted, not carved, with

the Blessed Virgin on one side and the beloved disciple on the other, in the exact form and treatment of a mediæval rood-loft. These paintings are throughout encircled by carvings. Inside the circle, above the chief entrance to the bema, for instance, one notices a carving of Jesus Christ sitting on His throne, surrounded by prophets, three on each side. Within the four angles of the "Beautiful Gate" itself, are the four evangelists, and, on each side of the gate, the branch from the Root of Jesse. In the basement of the eikonostasis, immediately under the paintings, we find the fall of our first parents, the expulsion from Paradise, and the sacrifice of Abraham; whilst, on the other side, the Annunciation of Our Lady and the Baptism of Our Lord are intermixed or framed with unicorns, deer, goats, flowers, or trees—all coarse in execution, and for the most part feeble enough in style.

The Blessed Virgin holding the Child is universally found on the right of the "Beautiful Gate" or door of the bema, which practice is said to date from the period of the Council of Ephesus, and at that time to have been adopted all over the East as a sign of adherence to the council, and a protest against the heresy condemned by it. The figure of Our Saviour almost as uniformly stands to the left of the door, followed by St. John the Baptist, whilst St. Michael—sometimes the three archangels holding the head of Our Lord—the Apostles, or the patron saint of the church, fill the panels to the right of the Panagia.* The subjects on the frieze

* The above distribution recalls the *Confiteor* of the Roman Church, and suggests its origin in the ancient Greek ritual. Recited at the commencement of mass by the priest, and then by

ordinarily refer to the great events in Our Lord's life, which are celebrated by such festivals as are named, equally by Greek and Latin, "holidays of obligation."

These subjects are here distributed, as already noticed, in the usual manner: but there are some paintings more special to this church of Megaspilion. Near the prothesis, is observable a very ancient copy, or *replica*, of the Panagia of St. Luke, said to be by the Evangelist himself—one of those which he painted, as distinguished from his wood-relief paintings, ἐν μόνοις χρώμασιν. On the right of the main door, entering from the inner narthex, is another, painted on panel, and which they ascribe to the Byzantine times. It represents the Panagia with the divine Infant, in altogether a different attitude from that of St. Luke; and it is treated with the characteristic profusion of imperial ornament belonging to that period. As far as can be conjectured from the inscription, which is tolerably preserved at the foot of the painting, this Panagia would seem to have been a donation from one of the Palæologi family, formerly princes or lords of Achaia, whose daughter was buried apparently in the monastery, and who adopted this means of transmitting her name to posterity. To a certain degree the object has been attained. The preserva-

the assistants at the foot of the altar—as it were outside the sanctuary or bema—the Roman *Confiteor* follows the order of these paintings, thus: "I confess to Almighty God, to the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, to Blessed Michael the Archangel, to Blessed John the Baptist, to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the Saints," which is a resemblance, that cannot fail to strike every Catholic, on examining the eikonostasis of the smallest or most obscure Greek church.

tion of its colours is hardly a matter of less wonder to the monks, than its escape from the sweeping conflagration of 1640, from which the picture was rescued, together with that of St. Luke, by the fortunate circumstance of its having been at that time in one of the out-chapels, or *παρεκκλησίαι*. The two pictures were only transferred to the church on its restoration. In like manner, the large candelabra, bearing the name of John Palæologos, were saved. They happened to be standing just then in that same chapel of St. John the Baptist since destroyed; but they also are now in the church of the monastery.

The whole of the inner and outer narthex, as above mentioned, is covered with subjects from the Old and New Testaments, treated in the grave style of the Byzantine school of Panselenos. So numerous are these paintings, that the monks assert, with some complacency, that they count in them not less than five thousand figures. The inscription on the "Great Gate" informs us, that the whole church was painted, in 1653, by the painter and priest Manoul Anaronore. The union of artist and ecclesiastic appears almost a matter of course: as it used to be in mediæval times in the West, so it still continues throughout all the East. He came too from Nauplia, a curious proof in itself of the maintenance of the hieratic art, even in the Peloponnesus, at a period of the greatest depression.

The monks, however, seemed to make light of these artistic works of their own school, in comparison with a painting, to which they led us with much ceremony, hung up on one of the buttresses of the church. It represented, on panel, Our Lord

praying in the Garden, treated entirely in the modern manner, and with some pretension. A blood-red cloud surrounds the angel who presents the cup, the whole evidently after the habitual manufacture of the Italians. In execution, as well as conception, I thought this *κάλλιστον ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης ἀριστούργημα*,—this "most excellent painting of the highest art"—as the monks have it (and as I afterwards heard repeated by others who should have known better), below criticism. The secret, however, of their admiration is plain: the painting was a donation from Russia. It is to be hoped, her degenerate school will find few opportunities of further misleading Greek art.

The church is floored, partly in tessellated marbles put together with decent skill, and partly in mosaics of various kinds—suns, moons, stars, trees, eagles, and other birds, with geometrical figures. In the centre lies the imperial Byzantine double-headed eagle, white on a black ground, with spread wings, such as is found sculptured on the floor of the church of St. Andrew at Patras, and in many other churches in Greece. A Byzantine emperor was the founder of the monastery, and nothing followed therefore more naturally than that his armorial bearings should have been emblazoned here, and nothing more natural, for other reasons, than to find them now retained: but the good fathers, with a characteristic desire to allegorize and mysticise, have discovered in these decorations hidden mysteries, and would fain read sermons in every stone.

On leaving the church, I had presumed that the most natural sequence to it would have been the

library : but the Hegoumenos preferred showing what he considered the greater θαῦμα, as indeed it proved, and conducted us down a flight of steps to the cellar. On the way, we passed into an inner folding of the cavern. A small spring welled out from the rock, the water being received in a basin. This designates the precise spot, where the "Sacred Image," after great difficulty, was pointed out by the virgin Euphrosyne to the holy fathers Theodore and Symeon, and thus rescued from the neglect in which it had been left for ages. The legend, which connects the discovery with a virgin, a cave, and a fountain, is highly Hellenic; and, in one or other shape, these same elements form the ground-work of the legends so common over the whole East. Adjoining, were the chapels, entered by other steps from the entrance-door of the convent. One chapel was specially pointed out as the same where St. Luke is believed to have painted the sacred picture a second time, and in the same place to have celebrated the Holy Mysteries. The altar which he used, was, according to the legend, preserved by miraculous interposition, and it seemed to verify the site for future ages.

The cellar was not far off. A large κόλπος, or indenture in the cavern, Polyphemus-looking, wide and broad, and particularly lofty, constituted as fine a repository for the purpose as the most numerous community could desire. Huge wine-barrels, of Heidelberg pretensions, lay ranged in imposing order, according to their seniority, which, as we passed along, was carefully noted. The different contributing ἀμπέλια, or vineyards, were also duly and variously honoured, as their vintage held

a higher or lower place in the estimate of the fraternity. We had, what we were willing to believe a specimen of the best, at dinner; but, though not quite resined to excess, as is so often the case in Greece, the wine could not be called agreeable. It was not fully fermented, it "foamed," unmetaphorically, and tasted hard and strong. The only inconvenience in the cellar, consisted in the damp and wet. The pavement was cold and slippery, and a constant dripping from the roof kept it so during summer. Nor are its spiritual glories less. It is the place where the great dragon or serpent was slain by the direct influence of the "Sacred Image," a little after its discovery by Saints Theodore and Symeon, as is minutely detailed in the legend. But, its latest and most real glory is of recent date: for it was this large cellar which held the greater number of women and children who fled here for shelter at different moments of danger during the war of independence; and, for this reason, we could not but look at it with peculiar interest.

We passed on from the cellar, to an examination of the cells. They are long and low, and for the most part accommodate two or four monks each. There are raised platforms a foot and a half from the ground, over which is thrown a rug or carpet for each monk, serving as his bed. Little furniture is apparent, in the way either of tables, books, or pictures. These dormitories looked unwholesome and damp, though not ill ventilated, for sometimes the windows were very large. One of those we inspected formed, however, an exception: large, and cheerful, and better furnished, it exhibited amongst

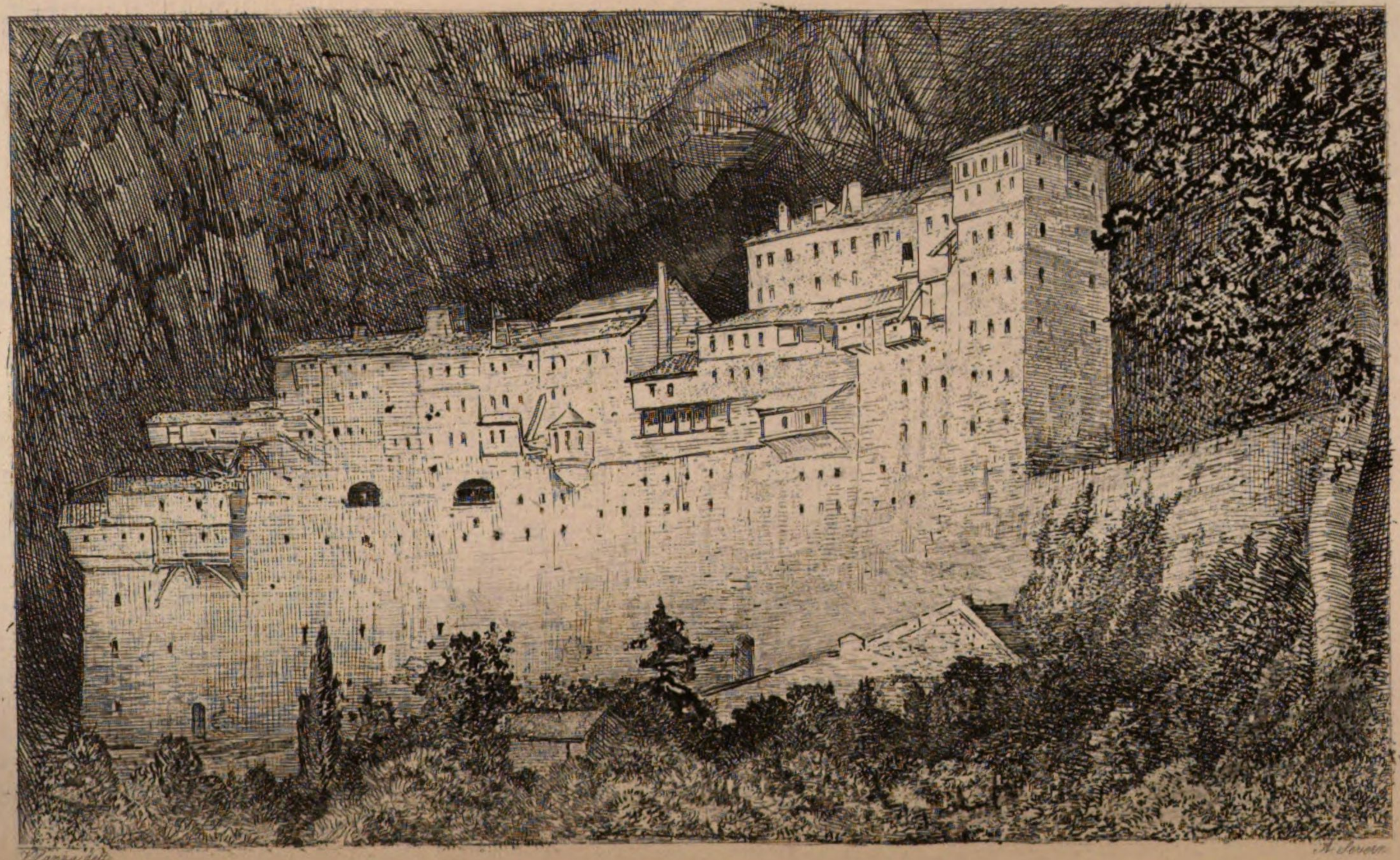
other matters a painting on wood, representing the defence of the monastery against Ibrahim Pasha: and a curious specimen it was of modern Greek art. The monks were painted indeed in their habits, but actively engaged with their guns and swords, and in all parts of the landscape, with an intrepid indifference to proportion; whilst Ibrahim—a sort of ogre-looking personage, of gigantic dimensions, reversing the ancient Egyptian and Assyrian rule—was in full flight before their prowess. Our guides were in great happiness when we praised the valiant deed, and two or three of the older monks came up to shake hands with us, being introduced by the Hegoumenos, as the relics of that signal fight. They related what a bitter time it was for them, having had to shelter, during the two years, five thousand Greeks of both sexes and of all ages, and to supply them as best they could with food. Their means of defence were small, consisting only of the two towers above the monastery, on the peaks of the rock, where they had planted two pieces of cannon, and the natural protection of the smaller caves scattered up and down the mountain. In this war the clergy, religious and secular, for the most part, bore themselves well. They were fired with more than the common enthusiasm, though they do not now seem to be very well content with the result: nevertheless, were a similar cause again to call them forth, there is little doubt that, in face of the Turk, they would act their old part in the drama with the same energy over again. The elder monks, with the Hegoumenos, made special inquiries for our old and valued friend General Sir Richard Church. His frank and chivalrous nature

seemed to have made a deep impression on them, and they dwelt with gratitude on his devotion to Greece, and on the sympathy and aid he invariably afforded them when it was in his power. During the revolution, he had visited the convent, had left one hundred and fifty men and two field-pieces to help in its protection, and had several times supplied them with flour, which was no small favour at a time when his own troops were so scantily provided. Many were the messages we were requested to convey to him, accompanied by invitations to visit them again, and assurances of the welcome he would receive from these his sincere friends.

We now asked to see the library, and the key was found with some delay and difficulty. Instead of a large airy room, lined with well-arranged and well-filled shelves, showing a reasonable number of the community engaged at distant desks in study, as would have been the case in many a Western monastery, we were led, after crossing some steps, into what might have passed for a badly-lit and worse ventilated cellar. An arched oblong of about thirty feet, with a gloomy window, and a few scantily-supplied shelves on either side, was the amount of provision made for the intellectual wants of the monastery in this ψυχωφορέιον—meaning to imply a "place profitable to the soul" — as they somewhat ostentatiously called it.

The few MSS. shown us were wholly of a scriptural and liturgical character, displaying nothing remarkable, either in the copies of the Scriptures, the εὐχολογία or ἀκολουθία, beyond a clear good hand-writing. Some small illuminated MSS.

were produced: but they were evidently of European origin, and offered no new characteristics: nor did the few and indifferently-printed books they had look better. Amongst them I was rather surprised to see Beveridge's "Origines Ecclesiasticæ," in 4to, of the existence of which our guides, however—the work being in Latin—seemed hardly conscious. How it had found its way thither they did not know. I asked the Hegoumenos, where were kept the muniments of the monastery. He raised the lid of a common trunk, and took out a bundle of parchments. The first at hand was the "chrysobull" of John Paleologos, which is the charter-deed of the foundation. He pointed out the imperial signature written across in purple, or rather scarlet, ink. Other patents and rescripts, from patriarchs, princes, and emperors, and finally, confirmations from the Turkish Government, which is considered to have been more favourably inclined to the monks than were their Latin and Greek masters, followed for our inspection. Our good Hegoumenos treated them all very uncere-moniously, and probably, in his inmost heart, regarded the whole, now that the brethren were under a Christian king, as so much rubbish not worth keeping. The visit of King Otho to the monastery some years ago, was the only title *they* valued. That event is chronicled in due form on the walls of the monastery, with more *éclat* than was ever given to the "chrysobull" of Paleologos. The Hegoumenos seemed astonished at the interest I manifested, and, on getting the parchments back, he flung them quickly in a heap into the trunk, which he at once closed down, but did



CONVENT OF MEGASPILION.

not lock. At the same moment one of our party heard two of our reverend friends whispering to each other, "They are a great deal too curious: what do they want here?"

Having exhausted the "sights" of the monastery, we returned to our apartment to dine. The wine already noticed, was the only addition to the dinner prepared by ourselves: but we did not find the beverage sufficiently attractive to supersede our own provision. After a few words from our hosts, we were left to ourselves.

After dinner, we lounged about in front of the monastery, and along the platform near the entrance, and seating ourselves at last at a projection overlooking the garden, we commanded a fine facing view of the whole extraordinary mass, building and rock, up to the two points which had figured so conspicuously in the history of its defence. Comparing the monastery itself with the cavern, which it entirely hides and covers, the edifice is large: but, if compared with the broad face of the precipice, it is inconsiderable. In many places the buildings project forward, and present a very precarious and fragile appearance, and are undoubtedly exposed to accident from above. The large number of out-offices, required for the service of the monastery, has contributed very much to extend the front. Everything necessary for the food, clothing, and ordinary use of the community is fabricated on the spot; though, as may well be imagined, in the most miscellaneous and rude fashion. Several minor chapels, the compilations of various periods, are scattered up and down. The manner in which all this has been pieced together,

renders, of course, any pretensions to architectural order or beauty impossible. Architecture does not seem even to have been affected.

On the other side of our position, we had a fine view of the valley with its winding stream, which we had passed in the morning; whilst, immediately opposite was visible the small and cheerful village of Galata. This spot figures in the legend of the monastery, as the birthplace of the virgin Euphrosyne, and as the site of the sacred plane-tree. Near us, stood a small church, dedicated to St. Peter, and at no great distance below, the "resting-place" of the deceased monks. The site had not been selected unadvisedly, they say: it was thought a proper point, to bring the two worlds into connection, and turn the conversation of the caloyers, in their evening meetings, upon the virtues of those who had gone before,—the athletes, who had run their race, and who were now receiving their reward.

We accordingly found the old and the younger monks, one after the other, dropping in, to enjoy the beautiful evening, and still more the gossip,—an Hellenic necessary of life, which no Greek can altogether dispense with. Sitting down on the stone parapets, we were soon in the midst of an animated and varied conversation. One old father traced for us in outline the discovery of the cavern of the "Sacred Image," the legend of its miraculous wonders and celebrity, and the foundation of the monastery: another told of the trials, and tribulations, and rescues through which the monastery had passed; whilst a third gave a glowing account of its former riches, though touching but lightly on its actual position. Then followed a

sketch of their rule, discipline, and daily occupation,—not, I must say, the most satisfactory item in the report: nor did we close the conference until we had gravely discussed the possibility of bringing into operation suitable reforms without interfering with the "vested rights" of the institution. I could not repress my surprise at the small amount of work, manual or intellectual, going on in the convent. Vocal recitations were doubtless numerous and long, as in all Greek convents: but, how were their hands and heads employed in the intervals of prayer-time? One of the seniors declared that they worked and read: "agriculture, and the Holy Fathers, divided their time." I inquired for their farm, as I should like to visit it. But our informants were forced to acknowledge, that they kept no land in their hands: they leased out their villages, beyond what was indispensable for their community-use; and even that was managed by their servants. But, "for the purpose of health and occupation, was there not at least some gardening carried on by the monks themselves?" "Oh! certainly," answered one of the younger fathers, "we all cultivate our gardens with our own hands, and there is mine," pointing to a patch of about twenty feet square in the kitchen-garden immediately below. I received nearly as satisfactory an answer as to their reading. A sort of school was kept for the novices, much on the level of the Hellenic schools; and, now and then, the fathers borrowed a volume of prayers from their "library." Some other profit might so easily be drawn from their position and wealth, that, from a human point of view I asked

whether they did not feel that the power and influence of their Church would be greatly enhanced by establishing here, as in a centre, a high school for the education of ecclesiastics, especially for the higher order of the clergy, who are uniformly taken from the monasteries. I was curious to see what "sign of life" there was amongst them. The younger monks entered warmly and eloquently into this view, and deemed it very practicable — "of its advantages to their clergy there could be no doubt:" but the elder smiled, shook their white beards, and, with a wave of the finger, showed that all such headlong projects were out of the question. "How could any one be so young?" And the old monks, I believe, were right: they knew themselves best.

It was now almost dark: for night—which in Greece descends very suddenly, leaving behind it only a faint idea of twilight, intermixed with the gold and purple of sunset—came down upon us at once in this gorge, and forced the party to retire. In a few minutes we had reached the gloomy portals of the monastery and the iron gates had shut heavily in our rear, leaving us to grope our way by very dim lamps through the entanglements of passage and stair to our respective apartments, where, with the whole of the convent, we were in a short time at rest.

ABBOT OF MEGASPILION.

CHAPTER VIII.

MEGASPILION CONTINUED.

MAY 26.— On returning this morning from a stroll in the neighbourhood of the convent, I passed through the outer narthex of the church, and saw the monks engaged in their "Liturgy." It was not a sight to edify any one. There were few attendants; and those immediately employed, such as readers and thurifers, did their business, in my view of the matter, very negligently. It had the slouch and disorder, in dress and manner, of a service, which had long since, from heedless repetition, become a bore. The thurifer, in particular, swung about his incense with a *nonchalance* which shocked me even in a Greek. In their religious and other ceremonies, this nation has no idea of the proprieties, though in many ordinary occasions they show all the gravity and self-possession of their fellow-Orientals.

All matters being prepared for our departure, the Hegoumenos, with the greater part of the community, accompanied us to the entrance or iron gate, much in the same order as on our reception the day before; and, after many prayers for our welfare and good journey, they bade us adieu.

I still see the abbot looking at us over the parapet, whilst we wound down the hill, almost in the same quiet attitude as in the sketch made the pre-

vious day. A venerable man he was, with a profusion of white beard, one to whom all events and all men at his age seemed much the same, a man with no pretensions to intellectual superiority, and, I should think, an easy-going autocrat in his way, a light yoke his to young and old, and a very peaceable leader along the smooth path to heaven.

We had scarcely reached the lower steps, or stairs, from the monastery, ere the bells again pealed out, and, in rather an abnormal fashion, as loudly as on our arrival. This was to our ears something like saying, "Get away with you! Thanks be to God!—thanks be to God!" But the good monks were more charitable, and no doubt intended in this odd way to thank us for "the honour of our visit," and for our interest in the prosperity of Megaspilion. We so interpreted the joyous *renvoi;* and after a few more "adés," and haltings in order to reconnoitre the heterogeneous compilations of building, and admire the profusion of every kind of evergreen shrub and tree, broken by the especially conventual cypress, we at last found ourselves *en route* across the Aroanian defiles towards the Gulf of Corinth.

During our slow descent into the valley, and through the ravines which followed, I had time to ruminate on the scenes we had just left—and no moment or place could be more favourable to such reveries. It was scarcely nine o'clock, and the sun still left large masses of cool dewy shade, alternating with calm sunshine, whilst our road crossed over by a lengthened zigzag from one side of the defile to the other. Glimpses of the fantastic buildings, intermixed with the grey stony frag-

ments of the rock, were caught at various angles through the foliage which bounded our path. Again, at some sudden turn, a gush, clear and keen, would come down the huge clefts from summits which still retained their winter snow; and then would follow a drowsy pause, as if a spell had fallen on all, men as well as animals—for no one spoke—and the very bells of our baggage-mules, now at some distance, drove one into a deeper dream. It was the true atmosphere for the hermit or the cœnobite, a nature to ennoble and to calm, a refuge from the hard dealings of misfortune in this world, and a soothing portal to the next.

But, reverting to the reality we had just quitted, there was a harsh discord between the imagination and the fact. I had visited many convents, East and West, and few so jarred with previous conceptions, as Megaspilion. Here was nothing of the strong ascetic feeling of the Marantoun or of the penitential spirit of the Grande Chartreuse, — nothing of the active, industrial occupation of the Swiss abbey of St. Gall, the French Latrappe, or the Irish Mount Meilleray,—nothing of the large, intellectual, or artistic cultivation of Monte Cassino or Vallombrosa,—nothing of the limitless charity of St. Bernard, and less again of the unceasing energy of the sons of St. Benedict. It was simply a large *caravanserai* of agricultural proprietors, who hardly discharged the duties of such, and who passed through life without leaving behind them a trace of their existence, indeed, with scarce a consciousness of having existed. Their influence on the neighbourhood is very nearly nothing: so also on religion.

Viewed generally, the Greek monastic system is an entire contrast to that of the Latin Church. Dating from the same period, and caused by the same exigencies, guided at first by the same traditions, they have separated altogether in their forward path. The Latins, affected almost unconsciously by the active and producing spirit of the West, were always in the field, often in the front, of civilization. They dug with the diggers, and built with the builders, of the present structure of society. In the earlier struggles, where nations were divided into two great classes—the man of war and the man of peace—the convent had always its doors open and its walls strong for the latter. It was the main outwork for humanity, for the preservation of what had been rescued from barbarism, and the centre from which spread out new apostles and conquerors of the barbarian. Scarcely a town, scarcely an institution, which has not its "primordia," however august, more or less linked with monasteries. If the baronial castle gathered the weak under its ramparts, so also did the convent shelter, teach, and cheer in its cloisters; and when times changed, and a new spirit arose, the monastic system of the West, liberal in its conservatism, pliant in its stability, did not resist, but absorbed, adopted, and expanded. So arose the Franciscan and Dominican orders, so later the Jesuits, the congregation of St. Vincent of Paul, and the Sisters of Charity. They recognized the existence of new social elements, and applied them; which, humanly speaking, was a great cause of their success.

Not so the Eastern. Like all other things in

the East, after the first explosion, they crystallized. The Armenian, the Copt, the Nestorian, all fell into petrifactions. The Greek was only a little less inert than his brethren. His sleep had, from occasional polemical starts in the old Byzantine empire, occasional awakenings. Their convents were prison-houses, for dethroned and blinded ex-principalities and powers. These did not murder, as now, the rival near the throne: the process was milder: they made him a monk. In the interval, the convents exercised, by a very natural application, the Christian duties of charity and hospitality, which were every day becoming more necessary, from the failure of population, industry, employment, and communication. In proportion as the ordinary "hospitia" fell off, the monasteries took their place. They became the natural substitute for institutions originally popular, then governmental, and which at last, through the defect of the powers and means of government, reverted to the people. The Turkish conqueror found the monasteries in the exercise of these functions, and, as the price of new concessions, or confirmations of the old, insisted on the strictest fulfilment of these duties. The monasteries throughout the East not only became royal, or remained royal foundations, but were required to receive whosoever presented himself at their gates—the lowly as well as the high, the Mahommedan not less than the Christian. In return, the internal administration was left to the monks. Even the patriarchs of their churches claimed but a limited jurisdiction. The capitulation on both sides seems to have been fairly observed. I have seen, in my wanderings in the

East, the Turk received with the same hospitality as the Christian, and the Latin sit down with the Greek. The *odium theologicum*, which shuts so many doors, did not close this. Poverty was no bar, riches no superior title. The traveller had, as of old, the divine right to be everywhere the guest, and often to an extent which rivalled the demands on the *caravanserai*. On the other side it is but fair to record that to these "royal Xenodocheia" the Sublime Porte kept its engagement faithfully. It is acknowledged, in the most formal manner, by the Greek Church, that no intrenchment was ever attempted on these privileges. Mount Athos is in itself a great living monument. The wound, or encroachment, has ever come from the co-religionist, and the deepest generally from those who were the closest. No evil was feared or felt from without: but, in proportion to this security and indifference, the more frequent and easy the extension of the evil within. Left so exclusively to themselves, the convents showed forth with the greatest effect the cause and consequence of such want of control. The Greek Church preserved a certain creed and a ritual: but inside the monasteries, where there was but one rule, one only duty, and no interest from without or within to renovate, reform, or renew, all went quietly on, rusting out, as it were, by a sort of tacit connivance of convent with convent, and of one community with the other. Unlike the fine old orders of the West, they offered no refuge from the calamities of life, nor yet a means for conducting into a beneficial channel the superabundance of that spiritual electricity which, if left to itself in the outer world, splits and destroys,

instead of impelling or animating. They became great dormitories of religious commonplace, added to Oriental kief, sleeper succeeding to sleeper, the old haratch of inn hospitality being paid through a portion of their inmates, in order to allow the remainder to sleep on in undisturbed repose. A half-educated failure, as physician or lawyer, was received as a conquest; a shoemaker's boy, tired of shoe-preparing and sharp apprenticeship, came as a prodigal son. No wonder they multiplied. The great man of the day, under a precarious government, has his eye fixed on the chances of to-morrow; so the Moldavian and Wallachian made their propitiatory offering, in the way of money or land.

But, to this was added the old spirit of domination, the only principle entire in the bosom of the Greek Church. Each great metropolis convent sought to extend its colonization. Everywhere were met their affiliations, or *ἀποικίαι*, in the form of *μονή* or *κοινόβαι*. The colonies again multiplied their dependencies, their *metokis*, their *παρεκκλησίαι*. Lands were purchased in large quantities, wherever the community was sufficiently strong to counteract the spirit of abbatial nepotism, a spirit which very soon began to show itself among the minor communities in the Greek Church. There was no outlet for the new accumulations, which increased revenue soon led to: nor does it appear, on the face of either building or furniture, that under the Turkish rule any considerable portion was ever invested in either. It might have been perilous at that period, and have assured the loss not of the capital, but of the monastery itself. The Turk allows the fig to ripen, in order to press

it with more effect. All surplus then found its way into private channels, or into the gradual extension, in one shape or other, of its possessions. But the ignorance habitual to successive generations of Greek monks, and their indolence — its inseparable companion, — rendered improvement in land impossible. Increased means conduced to increased neglect. Ceasing to be religious communities in truth and in spirit, they did not become agricultural. Some rare cases might be found of convent land, which the traveller would detect by its superior culture, amid the thistle and desolation of its neighbours, as was so often the case in the West. In the West this is ever the rule: but with the Greeks it was, and is still, at best, an exception; the majority of these possessions did not raise themselves above their neighbours: indeed, often they fell below the common standard. The monks added nothing to the national wealth, no more than to the national intelligence, and, if they had any claim to be valued, it was solely as conservators of a semi-religious nationalism. They had a collective hatred of the foreigner, and of the infidel, and they preserved with unconscious fidelity for a stronger generation, who gave them effect, the wrongs and vengeance, the μήνιμα of the weaker past. "Odia in longum jaciens, acuta et recondita quæ premeret," was their assumed mission, and, in its fulfilment, they brought to bear a Palikari's arm—they came from the bosom of the same class —and often a Palikari's mind.*

* The monastery of St. Meletius affords, amongst others, a striking illustration of this Palikari-ecclesiastical spirit. Leake describes it as embosomed in timber, and possessing a remarkable

But this struggle over, and the great Nemesis satisfied, every one began to look to his neighbour, and to see what materials, collectively or individually, they furnished for the new structure. Then

church, built by a Byzantine empress, which was in excellent preservation at the period of his visit in 1804. Although situated at only a short distance and a little northward of the road between Athens and Thebes, I never met a modern traveller who had turned aside to examine it, nor could I glean satisfactory information from any Greek as to its present condition. Attracted by Leake's description, I at last made an excursion there, in the autumn of 1859. My first surprise, was the difficulty our guides experienced in finding a pathway from the khan on the high-road, only an hour's ride across the country : but, on arrival at the convent itself, disappointment became predominant. The wood seen by Leake nowhere existed, nor could we discover a trace of the plane-trees he so particularly mentions. The situation is bold, on a spur of Parnes, the higher summits of which surround it on all sides. The convent is in tolerable repair, and contains a fair number of monks : but the much over-rated church is in a most dilapidated condition. It seemed almost as though we had mistaken Leake, so little trace of his description could be discovered. Reference to his work, however, left no doubt. But the riddle was solved by two words—*οἱ Τοῦρκοι, οἱ Τοῦρκοι*—"the Turks," with which the fathers replied to every question, and, becoming eloquent on their share in the war of independence, they related to us how they had fought these enemies, both here and on the mountains, during many years, with the neighbouring villagers, their relatives and friends. The Hegoumenos and the elder ones spoke of their wounds, and told us their services had been recognized by King Otho and the Government. Three times had the Turks been within those walls, pillaging and destroying. They it was, who cut down the timber, and had set fire to the church, as we might perceive from the smoke-stains, still religiously preserved — a custom very common in Greece. The old paintings noticed by Leake had of course disappeared under this treatment, and the few left in the outer narthex still showed the hand of the Mahommedan. The Turks had the habit of leaving the pictures on the eikonostasis, but of scratching out the eyes, thus satisfying their iconoclastic passion : the churches of Attica especially still abound

it was, while services were recognized, that services were no longer required, and those defects were detected which were likely to become each day more prominent and injurious. A population of 600,000 souls found forty-eight bishops * and five hundred and ninety-three monasteries, commensurate, it might be, with the square mileage of Hellas, but out of all proportion with the infant Hellenic nation. Many of these convents represented very much the institution itself. Large but

with pictures of the Panagia in this eyeless state, and which are kept so as a kind of memento.

The monks themselves were of the rudest and roughest nature I had yet met with. They came mostly from the adjoining Albanian village of Vilia, and some of them spoke nothing but Albanian. They described the winter as very severe, and said they were often snow-bound for two months. Their sole occupation seemed to be the instruction of novices, and young recruits from Vilia of very tender age. They seemed to know and to care for nothing beyond that vicinity, and evidently looked on us with much disfavour. The interest we took in the place, and the time we passed in sketching, completely mystified them. The fine air and beautiful situation having induced us to remain a second day, there were evident signs of suffering in our commissariat. Spiro, our courier, could never forgive their refusal of a few eggs, although we paid for all we required, and although they had, he asserted, two hundred hens in the enclosure! They were a dogged, surly community, and formed a strong contrast to the courteous manners of all my previous conventual acquaintances; but, at the same time, these monks were interesting, as a good sample of the spiritual arm ready again to fight the Turk at any sacrifice, and at the shortest possible notice.

* Of these forty were alive on the arrival of the Regency with King Otho. They were then allotted to the ten *nomoi*, four to each nomos, temporarily, until the number should be reduced to ten in course of time. Meanwhile, no consecration took place until after the separation from the Church of Constantinople in 1850. Only five or six being then alive, the dioceses were supplied by archbishops and bishops consecrated at Athens.—Ed.

ruinous buildings were discovered to be inhabited by a single monk, while many of the convents were constrained to surrender their *metokis* or farms to the chances of the seasons. All the recent disasters of war superadded to perennial neglect. There were few to travel, few to be received. The "plant man," as Alfieri terms him, was of all others most needed in Greece. Husbands were more wanted in the new family than cœnobites. When the Greek Government succeeded to the Turkish, one of its first thoughts was to devise and apply a prompt remedy to so pressing an evil. It entered resolutely on the reform of convents, at least in their relation to the State. Their numbers, occupation, revenues, became questions of inquiry and legislation. Their internal government remained very much as it was. The provisions of the Justinian and subsequent codes, the old canon law, and synodical regulations, were freely quoted, with a view to rigorous application; but the *animus* was not there, and no essential, spiritual amendment became perceptible. Whether from the general laxity with which laws are executed in Greece, or from the little interest which either power took in the reform, the results of these changes were purely material. The number of the monasteries was sensibly diminished. From the enormous roll of 593, they were reduced successively to their present number of 152, of which 148 are of men, and four of women. These are distributed over continental Greece and the islands in rather unequal proportions, relatively both to the nomarchies and bishoprics, but they were mainly determined, it would seem, by the importance of the monastery

itself.* The suppressed monasteries were placed under the Government, their revenues and personalty being professedly devoted to general Church purposes and to education. As is usual, however, no satisfactory account has ever been given of the execution of this project. The amount of Church furniture and other chattels attached to each convent is stated to have been considerable, though this version must be accepted with caution. The greater portion was sold: but whether the proceeds were absorbed into the treasury of the State, or whether they got divided as spoil among private hands, at least in part, does not distinctly appear. The revenues of the remainder, at first solely considered ecclesiastical, and kept separate, are now likely to be massed under the general head of national lands, the Government, or the nation rather, having self-invited undertaken the obligation of providing both for Church and education. This was the natural consequence of the new organization of the Tomos — Τόμος — in 1850. In Greece no special sacredness seems to have been asserted analogous to the strenuous resistance of the West, as a bar to an arrangement concerning this species of property; it was dealt with peremptorily, under the *Salus Populi suprema lex*, and apparently without any opposition on the side of the clergy. Notwithstanding, taking it on the lowest grounds, it may be questioned what right, under a much simpler and incontrovertible sanction, the State had to interfere with property which

* See the Πίναξ and Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, furnished by the Synod in 1857.

was not given them under any condition, or bound to them by any obligation, and large portions of which were either the property of convents not within the temporal jurisdiction of Greece, or were actually purchased from their savings or accumulations by the communities themselves. The precedent of selling is a bad one, and easily reconvertible against the convents themselves. The question was not, whether they had a right to do what they liked with their own—a point open to discussion,—but whether it was their own. There remained only one way to their choice, — that of sale. Such was the equitable arrangement in reference to the Turkish vakoufs, admitted because enforced by the strong, but eluded for years by chicane and delay. The State might have compelled the secularization ; but even this was subject to difficulties, which are not easily overcome in Greece. A due consideration of these, and the consciousness of recurrence to other measures, not less sweeping, by other states with less excuse, ought to teach moderation in our judgment of this mode, adopted without opposition in the middle of free Greece.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that these possessions falling into the hands of the Government, —like the national lands, which devolved on them by a more obvious title—shared all the usual mismanagement to which Government property is subject in Greece. They have been a fertile source of abuse and complaint, inducing mal-administration, extending corruption and disorder, and complicating the confusion in which all this chapter of Greek finance is so deeply involved. The contrast

which such property shows, throughout Greece, to that which remains in the hands of the individual, is proverbially notorious. In the oldest and best-ordered countries, this is an evil guarded against with difficulty. What are we to expect where Greece has to deal with it?

The interior discipline of these convents seems to stand exactly where it did. They were never, apparently, reformed, neither have they been utilized externally with any profit to Church or State. We hear of no missionaries proceeding from Greece to convert the infidel, no charitable institution founded in Greek cities, no preaching to the neglected congregation, no schools, no seminaries, no books published, no inquiries into the wants of their Church, nothing of the contemplative mysticism which first peopled the desert, nothing for which a Christian convent has claim on the sympathies of Christian men: for even the duties of hospitality are reducible to a very small sacrifice of time or means. As regards leisure, a Greek monk has always too much in stock, and is glad to find any one who may disembarrass him of it: as to means at hand, seeing who now travel and visit, the profit is greater than the loss. They exchange the armour of Diomed for that of Glaucus. The offering usually doubles the hospitality.*

* The efforts at reform have hitherto been ineffectual; but it must be admitted, the Government has made some efforts in that direction. They obtained the appointment of a young, earnest-minded, and very intelligent monk, as Hegoumenos of the convent of Phaneromeni, on the island of Salamis. The improvement visible under his rule, was very apparent. On my visit there, in 1859, I passed three days in his convent, and found him well read

The Greek State, or perhaps the Synod—it is rather to be attributed to the first—has begun to perceive this state of things, in a sort of hazy twilight way. Even Greeks now begin to ask for a teaching, labouring, as well as a believing Church, and they must have something better to feed on than inanimate "orthodoxy." In that view, the Government has lately called for the establishment of preachers. This was a primary step in the movement: but, as preachers cannot be extemporized, an education for preachers or ecclesiastics generally became necessary. This also, with the concurrence of the Synod, has been determined on, and has partially commenced. Ecclesiastical seminaries have been already set on foot in one or two

and intelligent, far above the ordinary race of Greek monks. He had only lately returned from Megaspilion, whither the Government had sent him to institute a kind of commission of inquiry into the regulations and finance of that monastery; but the mission had so far effected little, owing to the strenuous opposition of the whole community, headed, of course, by the old Hegoumenos, who thought the existing state of discipline and management needed no reform. Our friend of Phaneromeni had hopes, however, of being more successful the following year, and of being able to enlist some of the younger monks on his side.—AUTHOR'S NOTE.

This Hegoumenos of Phaneromeni lost much influence by his taking up a military life, and by his stanch adherence to King Otho during the revolution of 1862. In the spring of that year, he left his monastery, and, collecting a band of fifteen or twenty followers, marched with Hadgi Petros and his Irregulars against the insurgents of Nauplia. On King Otho's expulsion, the following autumn, he was seized, as a matter of course, and imprisoned by those same insurgents, then successful. He was liberated, however, after a couple of months. All thought of monastic or ecclesiastical reform, however, has been put aside for quieter times, and Megaspilion, Pentelicus, and many other convents, which so much need improvement, continue to enjoy their time-honoured lethargy.—ED.

bishoprics, under the immediate jurisdiction of the bishops. The course of education has been prescribed by the Government department of education, presumably with the advice of the national Church. This course—to judge from the encyclopædia published for the use of the new colleges—places at a low estimate, not only the past but the future, and exhibits beyond controversy the low intellectual status to which the Greek "orthodox"* Church has been reduced. What kind of fruit may yet be generated from it would be premature even to conjecture, though, were this the time and place, much interesting matter might be brought forward bearing on both. The experiences of late years have opened, and continue to open daily, very new aspects of the future national Church of Greece. A free government, a free press, and a free university, existing immediately under the action of European education and feeling, and yet in juxtaposition with the landmarks of the old Byzantine civilization, form together a force calculated to impel in a very singular diagonal. It may be a matter of great doubt whether, with all the political joinery and weaving necessary to dovetail the new with the inert old institutions, anything can be made out of this distorted machinery; but, assuredly, nothing can be effected by a mere

* The Greeks uniformly style their own Church, "the Orthodox Church," *par excellence*—the only true one. As may be believed, a few foreigners feel much offended at this, whilst to most people it is simply amusing, and particularly so to those who have the capacity, inclination, and opportunity to draw their own conclusions from internal evidence—an evidence in itself sufficient to furnish ample proof of the absurd falsity of the assumption.

financial regulation. Whether anything approaching to the vitality which preserves or renovates such in European and Catholic countries can be hoped for here, is a matter for more than doubt; if anywhere it must first be sought in the action of the secular clergy, or perhaps in the lay community itself, the exact reverse of the Latin Church. The lay morality of Greece, if measured by its capitals, has not improved. Many causes, some almost inevitable, account for this; a state of transition is little credited for new or old virtues, and is brought to severe task for old and new vices; between both should be struck a fair balance: nor, were this the place, would such be a difficult task, so salient is all Greek society, like its landscape. What is most wanting is not body, but soul. Self-sacrifice is yet a mystery: and, until some men at least, out of many, can understand and feel what that means, works, and leaves behind it, there may be a kingdom, but there can be no State, still less a Church, on the Christian and not old imperial, type.

These and many similar thoughts, with which I had long been familiar, followed me the whole way down from the convent, and I could not separate myself from them or from it without regret. I lamented to see such an expenditure of means without result, the harvest so ripe, and the reapers so feeble and so few. Yet this Greek Church, with all its shortcomings, and selfishness, and apathy, has its balancing qualities too. If it was too servile, when there were Byzantine Cæsars overshadowing it, to its praise be it now spoken, it does not use free institutions to crush or neutralize

a rightful freedom. It is not an over-fed Church, nor an over-officious Church, nor a fashionable Church, nor a rough-riding, filibustering Church; its tone is less than modest, and we hear nothing of oppression or complaint. Neither prince nor citizen have any motive to render it their slave, and there is no fear, they will ever be compelled to resist it as their master.

Travelling is difficult, and for a time bleak, on these arid Keryneian and Aroanian defiles, though you are ultimately rewarded for the trouble. We had to descend and ascend many a barren zigzag pathway, in the complicated offshoots of these great and central ridges. In order to pass the ravines, one is obliged to make immense plunges, and to bear constant disappointment, especially if the road be carried, or be so intended, right across. Points, that one could almost grasp, have thus for hours eluded pursuit: valley upon valley descends, instead of alps upon alps uprising. Sometimes, even on an apparently flat surface, we would light upon a chasm, and got into short cuts which ended in labyrinths.

After a certain time, we found ourselves opposite one of those round-faced, rocky, and steep crumbling mountains — the Homeric παιπαλοέσση, — very characteristic, unless where now and then peeped up sharp flinty masses, defying, one would think, the Turkish-shod hoofs of the nimblest of our Greek horses. To trot, canter, or even creep up its desperate surface on horseback was impossible, and we were forced to dismount, scramble, and climb to the top in a manner I could not explain, as I only knew of it by the result. Having

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PL. IX.

Sir T. Wyse, delt.

A. Severn

VIEW ON THE ROAD FROM
MEGASPILION TO VOSTITZA.

gained the height, wonderful glimpses opened at intervals down the tangled defiles, and up the iron-fronted precipices,—a stern, grand, sometimes a sinister nature, before which we could only bow with respect. At about three hours' distance from the monastery, we stopped in a little upland valley, near a ruinous khan and fountain, for dinner. A secluded spot it was, with inhabitants, or rather one inhabitant, well fitting it. Beside the fountain, sat a solitary oriental-looking woman, who spoke little, and whom all appeared to shun. She seemed to be "the population."

After a little more riding, and another ruinous Turkish fountain (the Turks have had the merit of building all the fountains in the land, and the Greeks of ruining them), we reached the summit of the range, and caught the first view of the Corinthian Gulf, with the Erasinos or Burai-kos (sometimes called the Potamos Kalybruton), gleaming below us through a dark ravine. This remarkable ravine is formed by the almost per-pendicular face of the Aroanian range on one side, and by the Keryneian on the other, whilst high over on the opposite shore of the gulf, as though almost mingling with the misty sky, stretch the lofty outshoots and summits of Parnassus.

As we advanced, these views became more diver-sified, till at length we were fast approaching by a rapid descent, the district of the Ægialos. That narrow line of coast—sometimes pushing into the folds of the mountains, and spreading its small village states beneath the shelter of their woods, sometimes reduced to a strip of beach by the pressure of the great mountain-spurs advancing

peremptorily behind—was all that constituted the power which succeeded to the empire of Athens, Lacedæmon, and Thebes. It owed its weight in Hellenic councils and history, to the richness of its alluvial soil, and to the exhaustion of the other states, its predecessors. Up and down, on the various declivities, are the successors of the ancient forts, or φρούρια, which were defences more against the wildness of the Arcadian tribes, than connected with the towns immediately on the coast. Even now, the influence of this province, arising from the same cause, is not inconsiderable. The currant trade, confined in great part to this remarkable line of land, is especially — in the proportion which it bears to the value of the other produce of Greece—a source of importance, and of which Patras and Vostitza are expressive exponents : and though, in this particular it is far beyond other districts of Greece, and must, from its exposure, more or less hold the same favourable positions in the Hellenic market, yet, it never seems to have made an impression on the Corinthian Gulf, equal to that of its more warlike northern neighbour opposite. To this day, in that rude mountain-land, the town of Galaxidi preserves an energy and activity, which contrasts strikingly with the more easy-going tendencies of Achaia. We had frequent occasion, in the course of our journey, to see how markedly these peculiarities were exemplified—and, not without the balance of comfort and material luxuries, often leaning in favour of the Achaians.

We kept along the left bank of the Buraikos, and finally entered the plain, descending in the same direction from the folds of the Keryneia.

This plain is a great flat of alluvium, covered with oleanders in vivid luxuriance, interspersed with great splashes of water, and presenting occasional clumps of brushwood of all the usual evergreens. Little cultivation is visible, except in some newly-formed vineyards, and the plain generally shows no signs of habitation beyond a few houses for the security of the plantations. Towards the sea, the sands stretch out their white arms widely, favoured by the discharge of mountain streams, which run seawards in parallel and close lines, though seldom in their gravelly bed reaching above our horses' knees. Being bound for Vostitza, we turned our backs after a short time on the Buraikos, and advanced in a north-westerly direction. Two streams were successively passed, probably the Meganitus and the Selinus, which boasted, however, more than one minor tributary. It is in this direction, in the curved sickle-bending of the coast, that we have to look for the memory of the ill-fated Helike, swallowed up in his wrath as a *μήνιμα* by Poseidon, "the father of earthquakes" as well as of wrecks, and higher, amongst some juttings of the rock to the left, for the site of its ally.

The whole of this road is sown with names and legends of the earliest character: but to identify them with any precise locality, even by the magic aid of Pausanias, would be difficult. After groping our way for a considerable time through this uncertain and sometimes shifting ground, and making several circuits to avoid swamps, or what was worse, there rose before us, to the north-west, somewhat on an elevation, a range of houses which Dimitri reported as Vostitza, or Ægium. For this point

The currant trade is the source of this vitality: you everywhere see the blood and health it feeds and maintains. The range of plantations extending largely on all sides of the town gives it in the season, from the gulf particularly, the appearance of an immense garden contiguous to the foot of the mountain, and amid which the little white town lies luxuriously imbedded; while, the periodical visit of the steamer from Patras and Leutraki, with all the concomitant bustle of passengers departing or landing in their gay caïques below, intimate, as clearly as can be, that this garden is a mine and a mainspring, and not without very positive effects on the whole intellectual and moral working of the place. Could we fancy these noble shores thickly studded with a line of such Vostitzas, we might portend a prosperous future even for the remote parts of Greece.

On entering the town, we proceeded, led by our body-guard, through some good wide streets, to the house of Mr. Papadopoulos, the English Vice-Consul. He met us at the door, and conducted us at once to a comfortable well-furnished apartment. Everything looked as though just arrived from England, even to the four-posted bed and the toilet-table, all English, with linen and carpeting *de même*. The delicacy of his attentions had furnished the ladies' dressing-table with a supply of aromatic vinegar and English perfumery, and, what was as grateful and not less English, with an abundant provision of water. At dinner, we had the same indication of new wants developed by English commerce and by rapid demand, the demand being met by English communication. Our

service of china and plate were all familiar patterns. With these had imperceptibly glided in English tastes and habits, to an extent not common on the Continent.* We were welcomed with a

* It is since the visit narrated in the text, that M. Papadopoulos has built himself a new and large house, close by the old one, in the upper town. The situation is commanding, and the views, in every direction, are indescribably beautiful. The drawing-room windows face Parnassus and the northern shore, the bright blue waters of the Corinthian Gulf sparkling beneath, whilst, from the apartments to the rear, the eye can repose, throughout the entire summer, upon the fresh green foliage of those extensive currant-plantations which are framed in by the lofty and broken ranges of the southern coast. This residence is a monument of successful currant trading, and has been erected regardless of expense. Marble from Pentelicus and Paros has been used, and classical tradition followed so minutely, that even the capitals of the pillars on the landings are gilt or coloured after Mr. Penrose's theories on the Parthenon. M. Papadopoulos's new house was not even begun in 1858; but, when Sir T. Wyse again visited Vostitza in 1861, the house was nearly completed. He expressed great admiration of the taste that had been displayed, especially in the decorative portion of the works, and he highly complimented the artist, who was a pupil of the Polytechnic school at Athens, upon the frescoes he was then engaged in painting. Those in the sitting-rooms were the most remarkable. They represented a variety of subjects connected with commerce—amongst which Britannia naturally was conspicuous—and were framed in garlands of currant-leaves, as indicating whence originated the fortune which produced this building. Unhappily, as all was finished, and the owner was about to inhabit this very beautiful house, the calamitous earthquake in December following occurred, inflicting damage on the building to the amount of 30,000 drachmas —rather more than £1,000 sterling.

It is curious that, at the period of Sir T. Wyse's last visit, M. Papadopoulos himself was almost the only individual in Vostitza who had not seen the interior of his own house. For some special reason, he had made a vow not to enter the house till completed, and though he courteously escorted our party to the hall-door, he would not proceed one step further.—Ed.

stout burgher simplicity and an Anglo-Saxon good-nature, which qualities I had at first thought special to our host and his lady, but which, later, in more or less degree, I found diffused over the whole of this prosperous region: nor was there an absence of more refined culture. We passed a good part of the interval between dinner and bedtime, in listening to airs upon a large apollonium instrument, which our host had just got from Paris; and it was late before we separated.

CHAPTER IX.

VOSTITZA OR ÆGIUM.

MAY 27. — The Patras steamer for the Isthmus was to touch here to-day, and at first we had some idea of taking passage by her, in order to avoid delay at Kalimaki; but having received information from Captain Craigie, that he had reached Kalimaki in the *Desperate*, and was waiting for us, we were but too glad to set aside the project and continue our journey to Corinth by land.

Scarcely had we left our rooms, at a little after six, when all the Vostitza authorities in full costume came to welcome us and to offer their services. The Eparch and Demarch, with that courtesy to which we had seen no exceptions during our tour, proposed to accompany us to every part of the town. Another engagement, however, claimed us for the present—our host wishing us to see some statues lately discovered at Vostitza, much vaunted in Athens, and which are considered fine. We accordingly followed him to his brother-in-law's house, where a portion of our party had been lodged. The house, isolated in a neat and well-kept garden, was every way excellent, and was entered by a small flight of steps. We were conducted to a cellar, where the statues were deposited for the present. They are both full-length, one, a young female figure,

in matron-like costume, the other the semi-nude figure of a young man, both tolerably executed, of good Roman workmanship, but wanting in that proportion and refinement which characterize true Greek art. It is difficult to say what, or whom the female figure represents: the male has the usual Antinous inclination of the head, and may have been a Mercury: it is hardly vigorous enough for an athlete. They were kept here, out of view of the Government, perhaps with the expectation of a purchaser turning up, sooner or later, in the shape of a rich and unscrupulous traveller. The Greek law is rigid, but for the weak only, as of old: flies are caught, but spiders break through. More vigilance, more encouragement, more judgment, and more indulgence are necessary, to make, what is now merely enactment, a benefit and reality to the individual who finds, as well as to the public at large which may enjoy.

From thence we proceeded to the lower town. The chief wonder here, is the celebrated plane-tree, with the fountain close by. We reached it by a good and clean paved road, creditable to the police of Vostitza. The plane-tree, which is now in almost decrepit old age, has suffered greatly since the revolution. At what period it became hollow, no one knows: but its branches are broken in many places, and the foliage is a scant remnant of its old flourishing wardrobe. I well remember it in its better days, with its white, fresh-looking mosque near, its well-arranged encircling seats, its Turkish-built fountain, and all the usual encouragement and provision for true Oriental kief.

The plane-tree suffered, about a century ago, from

lightning and a fierce whirlwind: but the injury was apparently confined to its branches, which still, however, have a circumference of sixty feet: that of the trunk measures thirty feet. A guard keeps watch in the bowels of the tree. It answers capitally as a substitute for a gigantic sentry-box. Not satisfied with this, the Greeks have imposed upon it a sort of *café*. We saw chairs and tables placed inside in the usual confusion. The scooped-out centre is capacious enough for all. These hollow plane-trees are to be found in many parts of Greece. At Cheledonia, near Kephissia, is one, in the interior of which you can dine.

The fountain was a favourite in olden times. Pausanias speaks of it, with almost the feeling of a Turk. "The beach is hard by, where the Ægeans have the Hiera which we have noticed, and an abundant source of water; and it is sweet to look at, and to drink from, this fountain."*

Though not mentioned by Pausanias, there is a mystical, etymological, and legendary connection between this fountain and plane-tree, and the name and most ancient saga of the place. The old name of the town, Αἴγειον, *Ægium*, is derived by Strabo from αἶξ ἱερή, or the Sacred Goat,† which is here said to have nursed Jupiter,‡ and which, from its proximity to Ὄλενος (Curtius has properly restored it to that reading from Ὀλένη), was also called the Olenian. It localizes still further. Strabo describes it out of Aretus, αἶξ ἱερή, τὴν μέν

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiv. 2.

† Goats had no small reputation in this neighbourhood. See another legend in Pausanias.

‡ Strabo, p. 387.

τε λόγος Διὶ μαζὸν ἐπισχεῖν, which would not be an inappropriate metaphor for drinking from a fountain,—ἀίσσω, from αἴξ, and πηγαίνω, from πηγὴ—or the rushing of waters. The latter, used in common parlance for hasty action, would show a connection between the goat and the fountain. Zeus had an alsos near. In the coins of Ægium, he is represented crushing the goat between two trees, symbolic, after the Greek fashion, of the whole grove. Perhaps this plane-tree is a last relic, and now again symbolic of the whole.*

The fountain still retains its old πηγὴ character, and falls through nineteen channels into smaller basins. It is of great value to strangers, who here draw water for their ships, as it is also to the public generally; the water conveyed to the town through pipes from the foot of the neighbouring mountain southward named Mavrokiotis, being considered as harsh, of bad quality, and hardly drinkable. No other well of such sweet water is to be found along the coast.

This is now a bustling spot. The Patras boat had just arrived when we reached the beach, and was lying to in the sunny waters; boats were hurrying to and fro, passengers and boatmen clamouring, while costumes streamed in the wind and luggage lay strewn about in heaps; and then, beaming on all, shone the serene face of nature, in the glorious Parnassian range, at the northern side of the gulf, and just discernible behind its snows and through the bright green foliage: for foreground (you must listen also to its murmurs) there stood out the

* Πηγὴ, a well or source overflowing into a stream.

decorated fountain near. The Turks chose well, and ever loved what they chose. The finest plane-trees in Greece were their adopted children, and everywhere have they been tended with all the appliances of parental love. To this affection the Greeks have not succeeded. If they have suffered the favourite of the Mussulman to exist, that is all.

It was ten o'clock, and our horses and servants having come down to meet us, we took leave of our kind hosts, and returned by our road of yesterday to the plain.

Vostitza—*Ægium* * is its ancient name, and it is again called so officially—has always occupied an important position in reference to its Achaian neighbours, and the gulf generally. It owed this distinction, as it still does, to its topographical position, which has, notwithstanding a variety of physical and political disasters, enabled it to hold a permanent rank. In ancient times, the political causes, themselves created by this situation, designated it as the place of assembly, and as the point of union of the Achaian league.

* *Ægium*, or *Αἴγιον*.—The variations in Athenæus (xiii. 606), *Αἴγειον* and *Ἄγειον*, are characteristic of the identity of the pronunciation of the vowels with the diphthongs *ει* and *αι*, so early as Athenæus. The present orthography is from Pausanias (*Achaics*, vii.) and Diodorus (xx. 103). *Vostitza*, the modern name, is traced to the Turkish Bostan, Bostani, originally italianized to Bostanitza, and curtailed again by Greek and Turk to Bostitza, Vostitza. See Curtius, Bósta, Bostani, a garden (vol. i. note 2, p. 487); but this derivation is conjectural. The name is used by Phranzes in his account of the Palæologi in the Peloponnesus, between the years 1428 and 1477, when he accompanied thither the emperor Constantine. Chalcocondylas calls it Ægion—*Αἴγιον*.

Its favourable distance from Patras and Sicyon ($8\frac{1}{2}$ hours from the former, and 15 from the latter), pointed out Ægium as the central point of meeting to the Achaians. But this was long anterior to the Achaian league, which rather interfered than otherwise with such an application. Whether it was the Zeus-worship which originated this assemblage, as at Olympia, or whether the habit of meeting suggested the introduction of the worship, with a solemn invocation of Jupiter's guardianship, under the name of the "Assembly of the Father of the Gods," is uncertain: perhaps there was an intermixture or interplay of both. The legend of the "sacred goat" nursing Zeus, resting on a natural phenomenon (the fountain), may, like those attached to all such pagan sacred wells, be of great antiquity, and may have not only preceded, but have been the chief inducement which caused the first convention to this place. The legend of the assembly of the Greek forces before the embarkation for Troy, with its various accompaniments, was only an expansion of this Achaian habit. Nothing more natural, than that Agamemnon should have here assembled the Greek chiefs, and invoked the oracular direction of Zeus. The Greeks were Achaians. Zeus was the special divinity of monarchy, of kings, the ἄναξ θεῶν, as Agamemnon was the ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν,—thus the presiding deity of the monarch, Agamemnon, throughout the whole war. The veneration for Talthybius and the placing of his tomb here, is not only in harmony with the rest, but also shows a resolution to collect within the same precincts all that could tend to illustrate the position. This, no doubt, like all other portions of the legend, was exaggerated,

when, at a later period, Philopœmen endeavoured to maintain the supremacy of Ægium, although the extension of the Achaian influence again in the Peloponnesus evidently required a more central point at Megalopolis. Still it was at Ægium that the decree for the renewal of the league was signed, upon a stone, near the altar of Vesta, making this in some degree, an Ægian, as well as an Achaian colony. The place and manner of this meeting, as preserved in the legend, is again in strict accord with the earliest Achaian practice. It is a constitutional phenomenon, a democratic representative system, and one well worthy of notice: not an assembly of Ægians, but of representatives from all the towns, and, not by deputies solely, but by a number of the inhabitants of each. Thence arises that, in the legend, this colouring, which seems primitive, reappears, and is preserved throughout the whole Trojan war. To a certain degree, it was the fitting constitution for confederations. They met in the open air, as may well be conceived, where so large a number had to be gathered, which is a peculiarity not special to Greece, but observable in all young nations. Compare these assemblages, for instance, with those of Northern countries, such as the Thingvalla, and others of the same description. The place of meeting was simple in all, in the Pnyx (Pynx was another term for the ὀμάριον), the Thingvalla, and the Runnymede. The name of this place of assembly at Ægium, whether ἀμάριον or ὀμάριον * (of the same root as πανήγυρις), implies not

* Ἀμάριον. There is confusion both as to name and site. Some, with Merleker (*Achaic*, p. 85), have read Strabo as αἰνάριον, and speak of an "Ainarius lucus" at Helike.—(See Curtius, *Pelop.* vol. i.

selection, but assemblage, and would not indicate a building, but an open enclosure. None such appears possible at Vostitza, till we reach the eastern descent towards the plain: and here would also be the temple and sacred grove. That the custom of open-air meetings existed down to the time of Pausanias, we know from his own testimony, though, no doubt, it must have suffered many modifications.* This seems to have been a representation, however, of the Panachaic or confederate cities of Achaia: Pausanias likens it to the assembly or Diet of Amphictyons at Thermopylæ, or to the convocation at Delphi. There is no evidence of the nature of its powers, whether, namely, for war and peace only, or for the general regulation of all matters pertaining to the confederacy.

The present town stands in great measure on the site of old Ægium, which, like it, was divided by the position of the ground into lower and upper. The lower town lay along the sea-shore, through which ran the main road from Patras, and which was then, as it is now, the commercial and more

note, p. 489.) But Polybius, who has *ὁμάριον* (ii. 39, and v. 93), has seized the true meaning and orthography, and leads directly to the corrected reading of the *ἄμριον* of Kramer (pp. 385, 387), followed also by Welcker (*Epische Kyklus*, i. 128). The error of the copyist was not unnatural: *αμ* was easily changed into *αν*, only by the omission of the long stroke of the *μ*.

Merleker supposes (*loc. cit.*) that these Panachaic meetings took place first at Helike, and afterwards at Ægium. The mistake may have arisen from the place of assembly—the *ἀμάριον*—stretching down on the east to the plain, which it must have closely approached: on the other hand, thus would be confirmed the position given to the *ἀμάριον* on this side.

* Paus. *Achaics*, ii. 24.

important quarter of the city.* It forms, on a small promontory, a sort of counterpart, or a miniature of Patras, jutting out into the sea, and commanding a good extent of plain, backed by the high ridges of Mavrokiotis on either side. The promontory is not high, being little more than fifty feet above the sea, and formerly it ran back in a ridge to what now constitutes the upper town. This ridge, however, was pierced apparently by a cavern; and the cavern, cut quite through, well built and paved, is none other than the present sloping or terrace-like passage from the lower to the upper town. The port lies to the north, and makes a small bay, open, like that of Patras, but less exposed. On the quay, a considerable portion of the business is at present transacted. Its southern extremity, as in ancient times, is determined by the fountain, and the plane-tree near. It is by this side that Pausanias enters, and where his description commences.

The public monuments and temples are distributed between the lower and upper town. In the lower town, we have all the temples, which more particularly refer to the local and traditional beliefs of the place, such as the worship of Zeus, Poseidon, Aphrodite, and Demeter. The river Meganites, now called Gaidaropnicktes,† which

* Rangabe (Ἑλληνικὰ, vol. ii. p. 57) places the town at a quarter of an hour from the shore. The upper portion may be at that distance, but strictly speaking the town is on the shore.

† "Ass-drowner"—not an inappropriate name for these sort of streams, which generally form dangerous swamps and quicksands at their embouchure. Travellers, particularly in winter, often feel their inconvenience. A member of our Legation was nearly

runs into the sea to the north of Vostitza, having been passed, the ancient traveller would have met with the stoa, built by the Ægians for the gymnastic exercises of their countryman Straton, who was double victor in the Olympic games on the same day. The solicitude which cities showed for the maintenance of the athletic honours of their fellow-citizens is conspicuous throughout the whole of Greek history. The stoa was fitted for those gymnastic exercises, in which Straton had been victor, the *Pancration* and the *Pale* or wrestling. It is hardly probable, though built for him, or on the occasion of his victories, that it was confined to his use. It lay near the city, but not in it.*

Close by stood the Temple or Temenos, and the remarkable statue of Eileithyia. This statue was the work of Damophon, the Messenian, and showed one hand stretched out straight, whilst in the other Eileithyia held a torch. This, in its double imagery of fire and light, is explained by Pausanias as symbolical of the medical functions of the goddess. The statue was covered with a thin veil from head to foot, except the hands and feet. It seems doubtful, whether this was expressed in the statuary itself, or whether it was in reality a thin veil, actually thrown over the figure. The latter practice was not inconsistent with antique habit, as we have, for instance, the peplos laid upon the knees of Athena: nor is it obsolete in modern usage. To this day, we see in Greek churches the thin veil, the λεπτὸν ὕφασμα of Kumæ, thrown over, or rather

lost in one a few years since, when riding home from a shooting excursion near Patras.

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiii. 6.

festooned round the eikons of the Panagia; and, were statuary allowed by the Greek rite, these veils would no doubt be thrown over them in the precise terms of Pausanias, ἐς ἄκρους ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοὺς πόδας ὑφάσματι κεκάλυπται λεπτῷ—thin veils: the wealthier votaries proceeded to something more solid, as we have, amongst other examples of "golden mantles," the pallia of Zeus in Syracuse. Pausanias describes this statue as of wood, with the face and extremities of Pentelic marble, which would still further account for the veil. Indeed, this custom of using wood and marble together, which is very antique, might have originated from the fact that the body of the statue, if regularly clothed, could be made of an inferior material. The statue became, in short, a sort of doll. In richer countries, gold was substituted,—sphero-lates, or fastened plates of gold, after an Eastern practice. In all the early vases, this peculiarity is expressed. The face and extremities of the female divinities, particularly, are perfectly white, without an attempt at colour. The vase-paintings were probably nothing more than immediate transcripts from statuary, and not from nature. Pausanias remarks that this Hieron, and consequently the statue, was very old—ἀρχαῖον.*

We may presume that the theatre stood near the Agora, or market-place, the market-place itself being in the lower town, if not near the shore. This will determine the collocation of many other sanctuaries. Advancing towards the theatre, and not far from the Hieron of Eileithyia, is the Teme-

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiii.

nos of Æsculapius, remarkable for the statues of Hygeia and Æsculapius.

Pausanias next notices a temple — *ναός* — of Athena, and an alsos or grove of Hera. It is never difficult to find place for a naos in any conceivable position, no more than for a Greek church, both being reducible to the smallest dimensions; but the site of an alsos—unless simply typical, composed of half a dozen trees, and meant to stand as a kind of bas-relief for a grove—is not so easily disposed of, in the crowded part of a town. Pausanias, however, mentions the matter in a general, off-hand way—"the Ægians have a temple and an alsos"—and is, as usual, perfectly indifferent to arrangement of site or order of description. This Heraion must have had a temple: for it had a statue, as well as the grove. It was also probably archaic, no one being permitted to see the statue but the priestesses.* Athena was honoured by two statues of marble, and is contrasted to Hera—*τό δε* —so that we may infer the statue of the latter to have been of wood.

The Temenos of Æsculapius, also a Hieron, was archaic, and probably of the same Egyptian or Egypto-Messenian origin as the Eileithyia. The two statues, of Æsculapius, as well as the Eileithyia, were equally the works of the Messenian Damophon. The conversation of the "Sidonian Man" with Pausanias,—*ἀνὴρ Σιδόνιος, ὃς ἐγνωκέναι τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἔφασκε φοίνικας καὶ τά τε ἄλλα Ἑλλήων βέλτιον* —inside this very temple, is characteristic; and the soreness of the latter at the assumptions of the

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiii.

former, as to the origin of the Greek myth, and his pretension to more accurate interpretation, would not be misplaced in Ottfried Müller. Apollo, according to this Sidonian, is the father of Æsculapius, and the symbolism stands thus: Apollo is the sun, and Æsculapius the air, the consequences of their connection are therefore obvious: "for Æsculapius being the air," says the Phœnician, "is of advantage to the health of the race of men, and, indeed, equally to that of all living creatures: and, Apollo being the sun, is most properly named the father of Æsculapius, because, in performing his course in due and fitting season, he confers health and wholesomeness on the air or atmosphere." Pausanias accepts the interpretation, but will not allow it to be more Phœnician than Greek, having seen in Titana, of the Sicyonian territory, the same statue, called Hygeia. He adds, with pettishness:—"it is clear, even to a child, that the course of the sun causes on earth health to men." * It is not less possible, however, that symbol and symbolism, statue, and what it is meant to represent, are all Egyptian or Egypto-Phœnician. Compare with this the Pythagorean theories as to sun and atmosphere, in Diogenes Laertius.†

Close to the theatre stood the Hieron of Dionysos, containing his statue unbearded. In the Agora was a temenos of Zeus Soter, besides two bronze statues, one of which, the most ancient, was also beardless. Proceeding onwards, Pausanias meets the *οἴκημα*, containing the four statues of Poseidon, Hercules, Zeus, and Athena, brought from Argos, and left

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiii. † Diog. Laert. l. ix. c. i.

here in pledge, but never redeemed by the Argives. This transaction with the Argives has a very modern air. It seems, that, when the Ægians took these divinities in pledge, it was arranged, as one of the conditions, that they should sacrifice to each of them daily. Now, this being an expensive undertaking, the Ægians, wise in their generation, and in order to spare their sheep and lambs, bethought themselves of what Pausanias terms a sophism—*σόφισμα* — which helped them economically over the difficulty. They sacrificed, it is true, according to the stipulation: but, instead of providing a separate table for each divinity, as bargained for, they served them at a species of *table-d'hôte*, by which a considerable saving was effected,—*αὐτοὶ δὲ σόφισμα εὑρόντες θύειν μὲν πλεῖστα ὅσα.* The table was nevertheless good,—*κατευωχουμένοις δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν κοινῷ, ἀνάλωμα οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰ γίγνεσθαι.* When the Argives claimed their statues, a little later, the Ægians refused to give them up, until paid for the feed supplied to these gods. How the calculation was made out, is not clear: but the bill, to be in harmony with the rest of the story, must have been at so much per day for separate maintenance, and must thus have gained them no little profit, considering their *table-d'hôte* commissariat. Indeed, from Pausanias, we might infer that the Ægians had to disburse nothing more than was necessary for the common table—*ἱερεῖα ἐν κοινῷ*—of the other gods. Be this as it may, the Argives were not in funds, could not pay the bill, and were consequently compelled to leave the statues at Ægium, where, in fact, they remained.* But the curious part of all

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiii.

this is, that not only do the gods themselves—those chiefly concerned—appear to have been unconsulted, but that no idea as to how they would like the treatment, seems to have crossed the minds of their worshippers.* The history is instructive, and explains the take-in of Zeus by Prometheus, on this very shore, and many other genuine Hellenic fables, founded on genuine Hellenic feelings and principles—*naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.*

Adjoining the Agora was also the joint temple of Apollo and Artemis—ἐν κοινῷ; whilst, within the Agora itself, was a separate sanctuary to the goddess, together with the tumulus-tomb of the herald Talthybius. At Sparta, a similar one existed, and honours were paid to his memory in both places, thus furnishing an additional incident to complete the cyclus of the myth of Agamemnon and the assembly in this spot of the Greek chiefs.

All these sanctuaries were apparently in the lower town, but, with the exception of the first, did not lie immediately upon the shore.

To this quarter, having finished his description of the hiera, Pausanias now returns, and it would seem to the vicinity of the fountain. Here, "near the sea," there naturally stood sanctuaries to Aphrodite, Poseidon, Kore, and to Zeus, under the especial title of Ζεὺς ὁμαγύριος — the assembler, based upon the tradition above referred to, which related that under his auspices the Greeks were here assembled by Agamemnon, to take counsel previous to the expedition to Troy. Close by these stood a Hieron to Panachaic Demeter.

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiii.

Whether the remaining buildings are assignable to the upper or lower town seems uncertain. Of their number was the Hieron of Σωτήρια or "Safety," possessing mystic rites, and the image of which no one but a priest was allowed to see. This statue and worship, with the mystic secrecy of its rites, the talisman being hidden, has something of a Palladian character, the sending of those mysterious cakes of the goddess Soteria to Arethusa, in Syracuse, by casting them into the sea at Ægium, being an Achaian adoption of the Elian myth. We find a Soteria, too, on Mount Kronium, at Olympia.

Bronze statues to Zeus and Hercules were also here: the latter statue being unbearded, was held in peculiar veneration, and worshipped with especial forms. Both were carried home to the house of the priest of the year. This practice was Messenian, coming from Mount Ithome, where Zeus Ithomatas was treated much in the same fashion. Ithome also claimed the honour of nursing Zeus, as already seen. The custody of the statue by the priest had probably a mystic meaning, either as connected with the secret guardianship of the State—a sentiment eminently Messenian—or in reference to the legend, the god being yet too young to take care of himself. The dispersion of the Messenians, and their settlement at the opposite side of the Corinthian Gulf, may have diffused this form of the legend throughout Achaia. Nor is it the only symbolism upon the myth of the nursing of Zeus. This symbolism is exhibited in all forms. The statue is boyish—a Boy-Zeus—Ζεύς ἐς τε ἰλικίαν παῖς; and it was as "child" and "boy" he was chiefly venerated by the Ægians. He had priests, too, like himself:

they were to be unbearded, and to be chosen annually: so that, as soon as a beard appeared, they became *ipso facto* ineligible, and could not be retained for the office. The most beautiful youths were likewise selected, the old custom being, that ὁ νικῶν κάλλει was elected and consecrated to Zeus. "As soon as the beard grew, the honour (of beauty) was transferred to another boy." Hercules was beardless, in compliment to his father. He could not have worn a beard, whilst Zeus appeared without one.* "Principes juventutis," exclaims Preller, as quoted by Curtius.

Of all these, and doubtless many other edifices, sacred and civil, there is no trace, notwithstanding that Ægium was of considerable importance, as the place of public meeting for all Achaia, down to the time of Pausanias. Nor, as is common in other parts of Greece, do the churches display relics, which, though insufficient to determine the site, so often lead to inferences respecting style, the date of architecture, and other arts, throughout the remarkable phases of this district. Ægium, or Vostitza, has had to pass through many visitations and many vicissitudes. For a long time after its foundation, it competed successfully in trade with Corinth. On the destruction of that city by Mummius, Vostitza found itself without a rival along the whole Corinthian Gulf, being, by absolute and relative position, far superior to Sicyon. On the re-establishment, however, of Corinth by the Julian colony, and on the planting subsequently of another at Patras by Augustus, Vostitza sunk to a third

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxiv.

rank. Under Marcus Aurelius, it again resumed for a time its ancient importance, and in some such state it was found by Pausanias. During the Byzantine Empire, Phranzes speaks of it frequently. Under the Frank domination, it formed a barony, called *la Baronie de la Grite*, and was the possession of Messire Ougues.* In 1458, it surrendered, together with Patras, and, conformably to the treaty of Corinth, to Mohamed II. Under the Turks, it regained more consideration, from its superiority to other ports; for the ports to the west, Lambiri and Psathopyrgos, and those to the east, Akrata and Xylokastro, make but small and dangerous anchorages. But the visitation of the elements interfered with its progress chiefly. The whole of this coast —notorious at all times for earthquakes and hurricanes—seems nowhere to have suffered more than in this immediate vicinity. The catastrophe of the 23rd of August, 1817, very nearly proved as fatal as that which destroyed Helike. In the space of a minute and a half, the sea completely stopped the outflow of the river Selinus, adjacent to the town, and overspread the whole of the plain below towards the east. On its retiring, not a trace was visible of the magazines, or even of the shore-land. The ships at anchor in the roadstead and harbour escaped: but all the fishing-boats were flung, more or less shattered, on the beach. Sixty-five persons were killed. Two-thirds of the houses and many public buildings, including the mosque and the residence of the Wayvode, were thrown down;

* Οὖγγος, *Chron.* See Buchon, *le Livre de la Conqueste*, p. 52; and Falmerayer, ii. 222 and 259.

several of the neighbouring villages—amongst them Ano Temeni—were left a heap of ruins, and the shock, though not experienced at Corinth, was strongly felt at Patras and Trisonia.* The war of independence, succeeding soon after, prevented Vostitza rising from its ashes. It had already suffered from the futile insurrection excited by Orloff, besides having fallen a victim to the Albanians in 1770, as indeed, to every other barbarian invader, from its exposed position on the gulf. In a word, it was not until the re-establishment of order and government, that it was enabled again to approach in any way to its former condition.

The climate, like that all along the gulf, is unsteady, and subject, for reasons very comprehensible, to sudden and violent gales, of which the bursts from the Mavrikiotis mountain, to the south-east and south of the town, are the most dreaded. The supply of water is limited, and the water itself not good. The eastern plains are exposed to frequent inundations from the joint action of the rivers which are supplied by the torrents from the mountains, as also from the sea, especially when under the influence of the north-east winds. No sufficient precaution has been taken to neutralize or protect Vostitza from this evil. The same winds often bring clouds of locusts, who devour what the inundations leave behind. Even the port is good only by comparison, being protected, as already

* See Appendix for a list of the earthquakes in the Gulf of Corinth from B.C. 373 to the last remarkable one in December, 1861, which is believed to have proceeded from the same centre as that of Helike, and which proved nearly as disastrous as that of 1817.—Ed.

stated, on the north-east, alone, and being entirely open on the west.

The present aspect of Vostitza gives hopes of an increasing development, despite physical and geographical disadvantages; and, though it can hardly be expected to equal Patras, it has nothing to apprehend from any other place on either shore of the gulf. The northern shore is scarcely suited by soil or exposure for the currant culture, the great local source of wealth; and old or new Corinth, with the minor settlements (none being beyond the rank of villages), have neither the population nor the capital. The whole adjacent land is as yet far from being brought to bear: but there can be little doubt that, in proportion to the demand for produce, this ground will be gradually added to the other flourishing districts in the neighbourhood, and attract and enrich a much larger number of inhabitants. This, therefore, should be — as to a great degree it now is—the chief object of its people, and Vostitza has already begun to return a better quality of currant, and at a more reasonable rate, than Patras. Great jealousy on this head prevails between the two places, which, not confined to the mere language of rivalry, attempts also active measures against individuals. The crop and trade has experienced great vicissitudes, partly owing to the varying seasons, partly to the wide-spread grape epidemic, but chiefly to the vacillating and unwise financial regulations of the Greek Government, which, in spite of every expostulation, has so long and so perniciously continued to interfere with the natural increase of the culture. These hindrances, after a series of unavailing efforts at amendment,

have at length been partially removed; the culture and commerce have in consequence begun to take a more steady and normal position in Greece, and, with proper regard to the interests of all concerned, they may yet lead to an entire freedom of the trade. Gross anomalies still exist, relics of the fiscal spirit inherited from the ancient Roman finance system, and further mingled with the vices of Byzantine and Turkish ignorance and corruption. Traces of this run conspicuously, notwithstanding many recent corrections, through all departments of the Greek Treasury administration. A reluctance to grant more enlarged facilities to the merchant, is likewise obvious: but this, it may be hoped, arises rather from an ill-judged leaning to particular interests, than from any fixed financial policy. Some such selfish motive has been conspicuous from the outset, sometimes exhibiting itself in the most unjust, sometimes in the most absurd expedients, and, for the most part, with as much contempt as ignorance of collateral considerations. Thus, while every effort was made to retain the old restrictions, for the mere narrow or local interest of the *pro-tempore* Treasury minister, applications for concessions were, at the same moment, being impudently put forward to the Government most interested—that of England;—for concessions, which the Greek minister himself resolutely refused to Greek subjects. Only one answer could be returned to such a proposition: but the very refusal was converted into a plea for the maintenance of a vitiated protection. A less ignorant or a less partial administration would have taken the hint in its true meaning, and would have proceeded to adopt

the conditions, upon which other Governments might have meted a corresponding indulgence.

Even the limited experiment made, though requiring enlargement and amendment, has already brought forth results which ought to be sufficient to justify its adoption, and which encourages perseverance in the same course. The cultivator, the merchant, and the public have all severally benefited. The cultivator depends upon the merchant and his demands: in proportion as they act favourably, he is enabled to bring into cultivation tracts of ground hitherto waste, without fear of producing a glut in the market, as also to spend more care and more capital on what he has already husbanded. The merchant, in proportion to the certainty, integrity, and facility of his operations, can afford larger quantities for the foreign markets and for his own, and can apply with more regularity, and to a much larger extent, for the produce of the cultivator. The mutual effect of this on the European and other markets is not less beneficial. Their Governments are appealed to, in a manner of all others the most likely to be heard, to lower the import duty, and to encourage proportionately, within natural limits, the consumption amongst their own subjects. This, again, reacts in an increased ratio upon both the producer and the merchant. Finally, the public, besides the direct benefit, as far as the consumer is concerned, of abundance at a lower rate, is relieved from vexatious irregularities and uncertainties, and, as regards producer and exporter, from those interminable local bickerings, Custom-house peculations and frauds, as well as from ministerial, partisan, and fiscal interferences,

which, besides attacking trade in its vitality, go so much further, and combine, with many other vicious or perverted institutions, in sapping the very grounds of morality.

The epidemic, which devastated the vineyards of almost every country in Europe, was felt with especial severity in Greece and in the Ionian islands. It bore upon a very large item of the revenue, and at once dislocated the commercial relations of the whole of the Peloponnesus. The remedy also was more difficult in a country of incipient civilization. It was not till large losses and sufferings had been experienced, that the oïdium was applied, and then so negligently, that at first its application was unsuccessful, and its efficacy consequently questioned. The injury continued in many districts to be endured as a direct visitation of Providence, irremediable by human means, and as an infliction only to be submitted to with passive resignation. In many cases, where the sulphur had been applied on the vine or on the currant-leaf, it was washed off by the heavy autumnal rains, which descend with the abruptness that characterizes such changes in Greece; and, from poverty or despair, the remedy was not afterwards renewed. The currant crops diminished in amount, and deteriorated still more in quality, in 1853. The year previous to this visitation (1851), which can be taken as a fair average year, the total of the crop in the Achaian district, comprising Pyrgos, may be estimated at 26,128 tons. In the first year of the blight, the amount fell to 7,554 tons, and continued much at the same figure, with more or less variations, during the years following, till at last it reached the quotation

of 2,817 tons, from which it gradually rose to 18,850 tons in 1856.

It would not be quite fair to ascribe this variation solely to the blight. Other causes, such as the ordinary effect of sudden rains, also intervened. This fatal influence of nature, instead of being corrected, was deepened by the operation of man. The vicious system of financial administration above alluded to added to the plague, at the very moment, too, when one might have supposed even fiscal obtuseness and selfishness would have been taught the absolute necessity of a reform. Petty stratagems and village chicanery were thought not only allowable, but sufficient to extricate from the difficulty; whilst the injured portion of the crop was positively brought to the market, instead of being reserved for the only purpose for which it could serve—an inferior distillation of rachee. It of course lowered the market value, contracted the demand in England, and left a large stock on hand in that country. In Greece, vast quantities of this damaged fruit were retained by the producer, in the hope, that, ultimately, the demand continuing in England, or rising from the diminution of the supply, they might be enabled to sell off this inferior quality at the same rate as the higher, when the season had advanced. In this they were again disappointed: the damaged fruit already imported lay on hand, and had seriously affected the reputation of the entire produce, and abated the general demand.

The Greek merchant made common cause with the Greek cultivator, and the Greek Government with both, regardless of the permanent and true interest of the country. To encourage or

lighten the export of what remained in the hands of the Greeks, the minister of the day actually granted a drawback in the shape of an exemption from duty, until such time as the produce was sold in England, which, in case of non-sale, amounted to an absolute exemption, although this very duty, from which Greeks were exempted, was enforced as regarded the English merchant previous to export. Such unjust favouritism, soon known and felt by the English exporter, was represented in moderate terms to the Greek Minister of Finance, the inequality which it established between foreign and native dealer in the same market being pointed out to him. It amounted, in fact, in all cases to an exemption from payment to the Greek Government, before prices had been realized in England: consequently, while the English merchant had to forego the interest of such advances, and to pay duty, whether the fruit was sold or not, or if it never reached its destination, the Greek merchant, on no other showing but that he was a purchaser and could not get rid of damaged fruit, was allowed exemption from both, without the least consideration of what he had paid for it to the cultivator. It was even refused to the English merchant, to replace parties on an equality by compensation or by drawback in future account. The minister answered scoffingly, that it was not worth considering: it was an affair of only some slight disadvantage in interest from the dates of payment.

The whole conduct of Greek ministers until the question became forced on their attention by the epidemic, was groping and stumbling, unless when something much worse. No law, no regulation

could be relied on. The system was notoriously vicious; and, on plea of correction, any measure, or change of measure, was ventured upon without the slightest notice to those concerned. Their policy, in fact, was characterized either by ignorance of the first principles of commercial and financial economy, or by a reckless disregard of the mercantile community at large in favour of the passing fiscal interests of a few private individuals.

The duty on export (it is amazing there should have been any duty at all—a drawback to stimulate the trade would have been more natural) was determined by Greece, the price being in turn fixed by the joint act of proprietor, merchant, and government at different periods, and the respective representatives of each, in a meeting at the *Skala*, or place of export, determining it by protocols. This protocol was forwarded to the Government for their approval, and, on the approval returning legally authenticated, the duty became fixed, and the merchant was allowed to proceed to exportation. Such was the exposition on paper, and it was often asked — could anything be fairer? every interest was duly consulted, and no conclusion arrived at but by common accord. The operation, nevertheless, was in reality as ingenious a perversion of public and private rights to fiscal ends, as the most Greek of Greek financiers could have desired. The frauds in the *confection* of the protocols need not be insisted upon. Where Ephors and cultivators had a common direct interest in raising prices, and were two to one to the merchant, who was interested in lowering them, there need be no doubt as to the result. The protocols were liable to reversal, but

at the demand of the parties, not at fixed periods, whilst they were, of course, being meanwhile exposed to new varieties of stratagem and chicane. These, however, were light evils, incidental to most kinds of commercial transactions. The real wrong of the system is ascribable to the Government. And the wrong is, that it places everything at the mercy of the Minister of Finance. The parties were required at once to forward the protocol. But no period was specified for its return. The minister had the right to hasten or delay. In either case, he was supposed to be guided by interests of fisc, and to take up his determination from the seasons. Hence, in practice, if the weather continued despairingly fine, the protocol was returned; if there seemed any prospect of rain, it was kept; and, when the elements had done their work, and prices risen mutually, he would return it unopposed, call for a new protocol, hasten to approve with all rapidity, and fix it as the standard for the export duty. It must not be imagined that such powers, unsparingly used for treasury gains, should not have been sharply felt and loudly complained of: but, as the Treasury had to do only with merchants, and above all, with English merchants (English constitutionalism used to be detected at the time in everything English), little heed was given to their reclamations. It is true, that, now and then, some gleams of light and justice seemed to break through, individual ministers, without courage to achieve a reform, but with sufficient to venture a palliative, deviating, not by law but by exception, from the system. Thus M. Balbi, when Minister of Finance, issued a circular, intimating that he should not

require the import to be delayed until the return of the protocol approved of by the minister, provided the merchant would engage to pay, previous to export, the duty as fixed by the Government. This, in any other country, would have been considered a very questionable indulgence: but, so injurious were the effects of the system which it proposed to relax, that in Greece it was accepted as a boon. Doubtless, it still left the whole merchant interest entirely at the mercy of the minister: and, once enforced, expostulation and appeal was at an end: but, at all events, it established something like certainty, the *sine quâ* element in all commercial enterprise and prosperity, especially where foreign trade comes in question. The English merchant, as usual, began to make his arrangements in conformity with the circular, and gave full effect to the important conditions just established. Steamers were substituted for sailing vessels, and supplies, calculated on the latest ascertained demands, were ordered to a day. A large number of ships, chartered by the enterprise of Messrs. Ingate, Barff, and Co., appeared at Patras, and were about to load, on the arrangements set forth by M. Balbi, when one of those ever-recurring changes of Greek ministries took place, and M. Christides was inducted into his seat.

M. Christides' first idea was to augment the exchequer; and, his first expedient for accomplishing it, was to revert to the old condemned system. M. Balbi's circular was unceremoniously quashed as unconstitutional, and no report permitted in lieu, after which returned the old delays and conditions. The English merchants expostulated: they

had traded on the faith of an act of the Greek Government: if a Greek minister had transgressed his powers, and infringed the constitution, that was an affair for Greek Chambers and tribunals, and on the Greek Government ought to fall the consequences of their own transgression or mistake: every hour's delay of their steamers at Patras, beyond what was considered in accord with M. Balbi's circular, was to them a positive loss: if Greek constitution and Greek law required the withdrawal of their own public document, the Government must remember it was published without any notice to English merchants, and without any notice withdrawn: in all justice, the loss should have fallen on the Greek Government, which was to blame for the omission, and not upon the merchants. In reply, the minister was obliged to grant a temporary and partial indulgence: but it came too late, namely after the injury had been inflicted. With characteristic inconsistency, whilst admitting the wrong —for, unless a wrong existed, the relaxation was uncalled for—the Government persisted in refusing compensation for its infliction.

The curious feature in this trait of fiscal cupidity, was the assumption of the minister in his defence, that England herself was in the habit of acting in the same manner, that is, in not adequately advising parties concerned; and, as a pregnant instance, he selected the conduct of our statesmen, and particularly that of Sir Robert Peel, in reference to the corn laws! The question, however, had advanced too far to retrograde wholly to the old fraudulent machinery, and the provisional relaxation became permanent. What was more im-

portant, public opinion began to perceive a closer identity between the interests of the merchant and the cultivator, and fears were entertained that the Treasury might draw the bow too tight. The English merchants talked of receding from the trade, when, at that precise moment, the events of the Crimean war, and the necessity of checking a diversion in favour of their adversary, provoked an intervention of the allied powers, then in occupation of the Peiræus, and brought about another change of ministry.

This was a juncture presenting an opportunity for a review of the whole system, and for the suggestion, in the interests of Greece, as well as of all other countries, of a more common-sense and also of a juster policy. The public was not averse to the reform, nor was any member of any government blind to the advantages necessarily to result from a lowering of duty, acting as it must on consumption: but then, the Government wished it should proceed solely from the importing country, leaving the exporters to impose or retain what duty they pleased. In the midst of all the vexations and narrow policy, persevered in for so many years despite diplomatic and other remonstrances, the Greek minister, as already stated, never ceased characteristically importuning the British for a diminution of duty. The application was partially acceded to, and produced in return more than the anticipated effect. The duty was lowered by the British Government, and the consumption gradually increased.*

* The duty was further lowered, in 1860, to 7*s.*: the consumption has doubled in consequence. In 1851, it was 22,738 tons: in 1863, 38,415.—Ed.

Whether the Greek Government really appreciated either cause or effect, seems doubtful; but, it is quite certain they imagined themselves able to extract from the weakness of our Exchequer other similar concessions in our tariff, without making any corresponding step in advance, or without showing the slightest disposition to acquiesce in the reasonable demands of our merchants, as far solely as facilities for carrying on the trade were concerned. Amount of duty was of minor importance, compared to the permanent necessity of data, which could enable others punctually to answer their engagements: but, while these small boons were claimed frankly — in the obvious interest of Greece herself, as well as of England— and yet persistently denied, small surreptitious expedients were devised to obtain advantages from other powers. A diminution of duty in favour of Russia—virtually a drawback—was offered, in the hope of opening a currant market in that empire, though in violation of the usual "most favoured nation" clause existing in the treaty with Great Britain. This probably would have been persisted in, had Russia shown any disposition to avail herself of the concession.

All these *finasseries*, which are so often taken for the sterling coin, and confounded with acuteness and wisdom, ended in nothing but increased disorder and uncertainty. The Greek Government had made no advance: demand, even with such a market opening up to them as Australia and our other colonial possessions, did not increase: no inclination, as was natural, could have been expected on the part of our Government to relax

their tariff: prices rising, produce diminishing, markets fell off, whilst lands did not return adequate profits: some lands were thrown out of culture, and a general despondency as to further permanent prospects prevailed. The public were kept in the dark as to the true causes. None knew the strong grounds, which made England stand back. The liberality she had already shown, had been responded to by an absolute indifference to her representations. She had placed Greece on an equal footing with the Ionian Islands: no differential duty had been admitted: she had even declined, what would have had much the same effect, a diminution of duty in favour of Smyrniote fruit, in the presence of reasonable recommendation and corresponding concession from the Turkish Government. The Greeks rejoined, that the wrongs and sufferings of the English merchants were set down to causes over which a Greek Government, it was urged, had no control. The market had already been over-dosed; consumption was more than supplied; too much land had been brought into culture. There was no remedy but to reduce the cultivation. The Greek public, with their pardonable ignorance of the social, financial, and political elements of Europe, yielded unsuspecting credence to these representations. Providence and the stranger were blamed: Greek policy was national and just: Greek ministerial incompetence and prejudice escaped.

However, on the induction of the new ministry, the whole question being brought before it, the much-lamented M. Pericles Argyropoulos, then Minister of Finance, entertained, in an honest and

intelligent spirit, the representations of England. It was proposed to do away altogether with the shifting, illusory, and fraudulent protocol system; in lieu whereof, a fixed duty, to be taken on the mean rate of prices for the preceding years, and to remain in force for three consecutive years. Duty at this rate was to be paid at the moment of export, without waiting for the approval of ministers. This amendment, which had the advantage of requiring no new machinery, multiplication of officials, or central interference, gave at once the great desiderata of certainty and simplicity, which the trade had so long required. Steamers might now be chartered without risk, and engagements entered on with certainty of performance. It changed the whole nature of the transaction, emancipated the commerce, though it may have curtailed the despotism of the Treasury, and checked the vexations and corruptions of officials. M. Argyropoulos adopted the proposition, and in a short time obtained for it from the Chamber the sanction of law.

But, in proportion as this regulation benefitted the public, it interfered with the illegal gains of individuals. Murmurs were heard against the measure on the alleged ground of inequality. The duty, it was urged, was lower than it had been the year preceding; as if this was not a mere transitory incident, arising out of the very nature of the averages used in calculation, and which would later, the new system being persevered in, find its compensation. M. Argyropoulos retiring, on the withdrawal of the Mavrocordato ministry, these murmurs burst into clamour. They took a shape not unusual in Greek village stratagems. The cry

originated at Athens, although it purported to come from across the sea, through an Hellenic German newspaper of Trieste. The whole of this currant district was described to German readers, as being up in arms against the English-imposed law. A slight reference to the locality and to fact put an end to the "weak invention," proving, by results, that the measure had worked even more beneficially to all parties — the fraudulent official perhaps excepted—than its warmest advocates had calculated on. The principle is thus established, and not likely to be disturbed. More recent Finance Ministers have not attempted a recession to the old system. They have modified its operations; but, whether advantageously or not, is a question.

The state of the currant crop, in the year 1857,* was on the whole satisfactory. The total produce amounted to 18,704 tons, distributed variously through the currant districts of the Peloponnesus as follows :—

		Average Price.
Patras	4,315	tons at 47*s.* per cwt.
Vostitza	3,990	„ 53*s.* „
Gulf	2,414	„ 45*s.* „
Other inferior growth ...	7,985	„ 43*s.* „

The crop returned in the autumn of 1858 was estimated higher, namely at 24,917 tons; but the returns of 1859 have proved greater. The quantity of good sound currants, in the various districts of the Morea, reached that year about 10,000 tons, and of partly injured fruit, yet saleable, 9,000 tons; of

* That of the year 1856 exceeded it by 146 tons, having yielded a total of 18,850 tons.

badly damaged, and fit only for distillation, 4,750 tons. The prices of this produce are stated to be as follows:—

Finest Vostitza currants, free on board,			33 shillings	per cwt.
„ Patras	ditto	„	27*s.*	„
„ Gulf	ditto	„	26*s.* to 30*s.*	„
And other inferior growth		„	21*s.* to 22*s.*	„

The crop in the Ionian Islands, in Zante especially, has not been so successful.*

The census of 1851 gives only 2,442 inhabitants to Vostitza, distributed in 560 houses: but the population has increased since then, and the town now contains upwards of 3,000 souls. The whole Demos is rated at 6,466 inhabitants, and includes twenty villages, six of which, however, do not reckon more than 85, and some not more than 28, residents. This number also includes several groups of houses, not amounting to the size of ordinary hamlets, but which, notwithstanding, have each their separate names. The villages nearest Vostitza are Ano and Kato Temeni, about an hour distant towards the north-east, and which together include 587 inhabitants and 140 houses.

Notwithstanding the prosperity induced by the currant trade, a large proportion of the inferior class at Vostitza, such as boatmen, are said to be poor, living chiefly on fish, of which food, however, there is fortunately a good supply in the gulf. The town has a Hellenic school, with masters of the first and second class, besides three Demotic schools of the second class. For so small a population, this seems,

* For further information see Appendix.—Ed.

at first view, a large provision ; but, on reflection, it is clearly not too much, Vostitza being the centre of the district, and affording instruction to all the villages around. Press of time prevented me visiting any of these schools, as intended, and which I the more regretted, as there exists no other opportunity, save at Patras, of testing the state of Achaian education.

Vostitza has its health officer, its judge of the peace, and its civic appointments, comprising a financial bureau of the third class, a sub-custom-house, an office of Woods and Forests—*δασονομεῖον* —besides three offices of notaries-public. About three hours' distance, on the road to Patras, is situated a large magazine, which forms a centre for all the currant commerce of the country.

CHAPTER X.

THE ACHAIAN COAST AND SICYON.

For the first hour after quitting Vostitza, we retraced our route of the previous day. Nothing could be more beautiful. Oleanders of large growth covered the plain, their dark-green leaves tipped profusely with blossoms of delicate pink; a lofty mountain-range rose up to our right, clothed with shrubs and larger timber; the sea, closed in by the magnificent line of Parnassus and its neighbours, shone sparkling to our left—the entire scene lying steeped in the dazzling sunlight of a Greek May morning.

At a certain spot, shortly after crossing the Selinus, we diverged from yesterday's pathway, and rode close by the sea along the sands of the sickle-bend, seeking, as we went, for some traces of unfortunate Helike. But no fishermen even were near to tell us, as they told Eratosthenes, one hundred years after the event, of the bronze statue of Poseidon—then visible below the water-mark—in which their nets used to get entangled, and their boats were often caught.

Helike was one of the most ancient of the Ionian settlements, and was at all times treated with deference by the Achaians. Poseidon was the divinity of this district: his special temple stood

at Helike, and was served by Ionians, to the exclusion of all strangers. But the Helikans, in their turn, presumed on their privileges, and not content with denying the authority of the Achaians in their municipal administration, they even evinced a jealousy of their Ionian brethren in Asia. To these they refused their statue of Poseidon, or permission to take a model of their temple. This refusal is stated by Diodorus to have ended in a personal attack upon the Ionian deputies, when endeavouring to offer sacrifice on this altar of their forefathers, resulting, according to Pausanias and Ælian, even in their murder. The terrible earthquake, which took place in the following winter, was therefore attributed to the wrath of the "Earth-shaker," who was presumed to have been roused by this insult to his worshippers.

The earthquake of Helike was one of the most fatal in antiquity, occurring in the middle of the night, and swallowing up not only the town, but ten Lacedæmonian ships at anchor in the harbour, and twelve stades of land around it. Next day, two thousand Achaians rushed from all sides, intending to assist in the burial of the dead: but, to their utter consternation, on reaching the shore, they found neither man nor dwellings. Thenceforth, Helike vanished from history. The land belonging to the town was conceded to Ægium, which rapidly assumed the place and importance of its former neighbour: but, to this hour, any slight shock of earthquake throughout the district serves to recall the fate of the unhappy city, and to shake the inborn trust of every Northman in the stability of *terra firma*—a sensation, which my personal expe-

rience but too justly confirms. The country around still wears an earthquaky aspect, and, seen from the sea especially, the spurs of the mountains as they descend into the plain, lie in huge convulsed masses, or fall in abrupt terrace-like fashion, like a succession of gigantic landslips.

Leaving this beautiful but melancholy beach, we continued on amongst olive-grounds, chiefly belonging to Megaspilion, the possessions of which extend far round the country. High up in one of the valleys to our right—in that through which flows the Kerynitus—stands the monastery of St. Michael, commonly called "the Taxiarch," or Leader of Hosts, such being the title by which he is almost exclusively known in the East. Rarely visited by travellers, it is, notwithstanding, second only to Megaspilion as to size and the number of its monks. The site is said to be most picturesque, and its charms as a summer retreat are enthusiastically spoken of by the residents of Vostitza and Patras. Time did not now permit us to turn aside, so as to test its beauties,* and we soon passed the

* The last excursion made by Sir Thomas Wyse, was in September, 1861, to this convent of the "Taxiarch." Arriving from Patras in H. M.'s ship *Intrepid*, we landed at Vostitza, whence our party, including Captain Marryat and his officers, started immediately on horseback for the monastery. The road, which traversed the plain through the currant-yards due south, struck within half an hour up a mountain pathway. From this point the prospects began to show decided beauty, the valley soon narrowing in between two lofty ranges, the river—there but a stream—coursing tranquilly down their midst, whilst extended plane-trees and fresh green shrubs of infinite variety served to clothe the scene with sylvan verdure. We passed, on the left bank, a small and very old-looking Byzantine church belonging to the monastery. Finally,

Buraikos, where that stream issues from the gorge of Megaspilion. Several defiles open from the hills in the vicinity, but none are equal to this one; and, by common accord, we halted for a while, to contemplate the majestic scenery.

Beyond this point, the mountains gradually after a three hours' ride from Vostitza, a turn in the valley suddenly disclosed the monastery, where it lay in its romantic position under a high mountain, rising perpendicularly behind. As is usual in scenery of this sort, the road led us deceitfully up and down many a zigzag ravine, ere the monastic enclosure, long before discerned afar, at length was gained.

The building is in the ordinary style of Greek convents, comprising, namely, a two-storied gallery, into which the cells open, and which runs round a quadrangle, the church occupying the centre. The most noticeable features, material and moral, of this establishment, would seem to be—its great size, the large number of its monks and their superior discipline, and the marked cleanliness of the place compared with the common run of Greek convents. Though our visit came unexpectedly, there was an appearance of everyday trim and order quite refreshing, the monastic community cordially welcoming our party, and introducing us into apartments as comfortable and as well furnished as in any northern country. The dining-room was special, presenting an aspect more mediæval than Greek of our day, being wainscoted and panelled to the ceiling, and altogether substantially appointed.

The first compliments over, the Hegoumenos—a man of unobtrusive manners—deputed Papas Daniel, public preacher at Athens and Prohegoumenos of this convent, to do us all further honours. This was a monk, who had passed twenty years of his life at Manchester as chaplain to the Greek residents of that city, and who spoke English fluently, of which he was naturally not a little proud. Papas Daniel proved an excellent cicerone, and from him Sir T. Wyse was able to glean a large amount of curious and valuable information, concerning the convents, and the Greek Church generally. The fatal illness, which overtook Sir Thomas soon after his return to Athens, alone prevented this information being accurately noted and given to the public.

The chief charm of this Taxiarch convent consists in its aptitude as a summer residence. There is an abundance of water, only a few

approach the shore, until they actually touch it at last, the road winding over a zigzag path above the cliffs, which are covered with thick brushwood. This is one amongst the many *Kaki Scalas* so frequent in Greece; and, in respect of its being the high-road and the only line of communication along

hours daily in summer of southern sun-heat, and even that little provided against by foliage, and by a keen mountain-air invigorating both human and vegetable nature. These advantages are nevertheless dearly bought by the rigour of its winters, which the monks speak of in terms of bitter dissatisfaction. During nine months of the year, the sun never reaches the convent, being effectually intercepted by the high mountain in its rear: the monks feel anxious in consequence to build a new convent upon a better site. The ancient monastic buildings on the present site, were partially burnt by the Turks during the revolution: the restorations are therefore comparatively recent. Looking up and down the vale from the platform outside the enclosure, the landscape is most beautiful; and, it was whilst engaged in scanning its beauties, that we noticed, embosomed in a recess near the summit of the mountain opposite, a nest of little houses clustered together. They looked like a small hamlet: Papàs Daniel assured us, however, that what we saw was a convent of nuns. We had never heard of this convent: but our guide spoke positively, adding that they lived as cœnobites in separate houses, none but women being admitted, except one aged priest, who reads the "Liturgy" for them. It was remarked that, independently of the extreme exposure of their position materially considered, they must necessarily be in great danger from brigands, and altogether in a helpless condition: but he laughed, declaring there was no danger, and that it was only old women who joined the community—rather an instructive commentary on the state of female conventual life in Greece!

Our party, after experiencing a courtesy uncommon even in Greece, from the entire community, returned early next morning to Vostitza. Sir Thomas Wyse often spoke of the agreeable and satisfactory impression the monastery of St. Michael the Taxiarch had made on him; and, among our most pleasing reminiscences, not least stood Papas Daniel himself, who, in his enthusiasm for the English Minister and England, had insisted upon escorting us to the confines of the monastic lands, and at last into Vostitza itself.—Ed.

the coast, it is certainly disgraceful. The telegraph was here, however, its poles marking out our route over rock and cliff, and making the most bizarre of contrasts with the rude stones of the path beside it. Yet, after our recent experience in the interior, we were indulgent to these defects, and one's mind in truth could dwell upon little but the transcendent beauty of the scene. A breeze had sprung up, dashing the waves against the rocks beneath and cooling the heat of the atmosphere, which for the last days had been steadily and disagreeably on the increase. Each step too revealed the finest reaches on the opposite coast, as ever and anon the grand old outline stretched before us from west of Parnassus to Helicon and Cythæron, raising thoughts and associations too strong for utterance, and also the more prized, from the knowledge that a few days would take us back to the focus of petty ends and mean intrigues, and to the overwhelming dust and heat of Athens. There seemed only one dissentient voice in our party, that of Signor Lanza: and the difference was characteristic. A Venetian by birth and education, and wedded to his native city until within the last few years, he at times evinced a true Venetian disdain for natural scenery, rarely hesitating to confess his preference for the works of cities and of men. The journey had been fatiguing to all concerned: but enthusiasm had borne us through all its inconveniences, hardly allowing us to feel them. His long-suffering, however, had now fairly broken down; and his disappointment at our choosing this land journey, instead of the direct return by the Austrian steamer from Vostitza, could no longer be concealed. His

nature was too gentle openly to murmur: but it was clear he could see no beauty in the mountains beyond, and was fast wearying of "niente che montagne." Yet, strange to say, he had the truest eye for Greek landscape, both in colour and form, I ever met with: his ardour in the early part of our journey had been great, and his present indifference was mainly the old story—*on revient toujours à ses premiers amours.*

About one o'clock, emerging from the *Kaki Scala*, we reached the khan of Akrata, situated on a point of rock immediately above the river of the same name. The khan is said by Leake and Curtius to stand on the site of Ægea. Nothing remains of that town, nor did anything exist of it even in the time of Strabo. This may be accounted for by the crumbling nature of the rocks along the coast, to which is also attributable the absence of ancient masonry at Vostitza. Ægea was the rival of Helike, celebrated in like manner for its temple of Poseidon; and it is mentioned with Helike, in the same line of the Iliad—

Οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ' ἀνάγουσι.*

The view from this height is magnificent, extending from Naupactus at one end, to Helicon and Geraneia at the other. The river is formed by the union of the ancient Crathis, rising in the mountains of Arcadia, and of the Styx, which joins it very near its source. At the time of our visit there was but little water, and that little flowed tranquilly towards the sea, crossed by a pretty

* Homer, *Il.* viii. 203.

seven-arched bridge just below the khan. The wide expanse of gravel-bed, and its disturbed state, left no doubt, however, that the Akrata has its fitful seasons of wrath. The bank opposite is flat, and, stretching for some distance to the sea, presents one mass of currant plantations, here and there intersown with fields of maize and wheat. There are signs of cultivation in all directions, and Buchon gives a flourishing description of those villages and their vineyards, which he visited up the folds and recesses of the mountains in the neighbourhood.

But to this hill and khan of Akrata there attaches a deeper and more recent interest, as the scene of one of those mournful episodes, too common in the War of Independence, and which in their details so characterized the death-struggle between Greek and Turk. Zaïmis, Londos, and most of the principal actors in that tragedy, have now passed away: but its dire memory still clings to the stones and rocks of Akrata, and it is yet spoken of in Greece as though of yesterday's occurrence. The story is simple.

Gordon * and others relate, that, in 1823—the second year of the war—the surrender of Nauplia, and the non-arrival of supplies, caused Dramali Pasha to decide on abandoning his position at the isthmus. The sick and wounded having been transported to Patras by sea, and 800 Albanians stationed in the Acrocorinthus, the remainder of the troops were prepared for a retreat along the southern shore of the gulf. They numbered, according

* Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*, vol. ii. c. i. pp. 2, 3, 4.

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BRIDGE OF AKRATA

to Gordon, 3,500 rank and file, of whom one-third were cavalry; and a provision of five days' rations was served out to them, which, had they met with no impediments, would have amply sufficed for a march to Patras. With the view of misleading the Greeks, a feint was made on the Megaris side of the gulf; but, this failing, their wily adversaries were soon on the alert, and a considerable body of them proceeded to follow the Turkish corps at safe distance by the brow of the hills which run parallel to the coast.

The Turks would seem to have pursued their march unmolested, until they reached the Mavra Litharia, close to Akrata. Here they came across another corps of Greeks, who had assembled in anticipation of anything but an encounter with the Turks. Their original purpose of meeting was widely different, and amounted in short to this — Vostitza, like many other places in Greece, had long been distracted by the personal feuds of some of its primates; and two of these, the elder Zaïmis and Melitopoulos, had lately agreed to settle all private quarrels, by a stand-up fight between their retainers. It was with this intention they had repaired to Akrata, each accompanied by a band of his own men ready for combat. The battle was just about to commence, when the sudden appearance of the Turks as suddenly reconciled the Greek disputants, and induced them to concentrate their united force against the common foe.

The Vostitzans, after effecting a junction with those of their compatriots who had been tracking the enemy from Corinth, made immediate stand against the progress of the Turks, and so far suc-

cessfully, as to be able to occupy the wooded heights of this locality, whilst they sent off for reinforcements to Kalavryta and to the villages of Arcadia. The Turks, on their side, gained possession of the khan and bridge of Akrata: but, finding all further advance impracticable, they were compelled to entrench themselves here, and worse, with no other hope of relief than what Yussuf Pasha might afford them by sea. Some relief in food at last did reach them: but, for the lengthened straits they were put to, the supply was wholly inadequate. A previous rescue, attempted by Yussuf Pasha, had resulted in total discomfiture, the stormy weather having beaten off his flotilla. On the other hand, the Greek forces increased daily in numbers. Londos, Andreas Zaïmis, and Odysseus, arrived from Mesalonghi, whilst the Arcadians, headed by Petmezas, whom we had lately seen at Kalavryta, rushed down from their mountain-fastnesses near.

Viewing the past from the actual scene of action, it is not difficult to comprehend its history. No more than a few resolute men were requisite, to bar all entrance to the Kaki Scala we had just passed: the roadstead below, it is evident, lay completely exposed: nor, could there be better chance for the unfortunate captives in the surrounding hill-country, which is of a nature not merely to paralyze regular infantry and cavalry in their movements, but to place them hopelessly at the mercy of their guerilla opponents.

The Turks, spiritless, yet enduring, made no effort to escape, although their heroism for six long weeks entailed a state of suffering and misery indescribable. Not only was all their horse-flesh

consumed, and even their saddles eaten, but they ended by being reduced to feed on the bodies of their fallen comrades. The position, in fact, might have been taken by assault, or the whole corps have been driven into the sea, had not some among the Greek leaders intentionally procrastinated, from a secret desire, it is asserted, to appropriate the booty to themselves. Be this as it may, four Albanian chieftains, old friends of Odysseus, no longer able to hold out, surrendered to him, and a general capitulation was spoken of, when some Turkish ships of war and some English transports unexpectedly hove in sight, and at length succeeded in rescuing the unhappy sufferers. Finally, it is supposed that about 1,500 Turks perished at Akrata: and, of the remaining 2,000 who eventually reached Patras, vast numbers died there, few indeed, if any, long surviving to tell the tale of this dread catastrophe.

The sun darting down with noontide force on the naked rock, the khan lay so bared to its rays, that it was soon decided amongst us to cross the bridge and seek the shelter, however scanty, of some large olive-trees on the opposite bank. Nor could we regret quitting the scene of such sad recollections. In a spot so redolent of every natural beauty, the contrast was becoming most painful.

By four o'clock, all were again on horseback, and bent upon reaching a village near Cape Augo ere sunlight left us. For the first twenty minutes from the bridge of Akrata, the road stretches across a plain entirely covered with currant-yards. High up the bordering hills numerous villages are discernible, some of which, such as Vlogoká, stand

perched on points so inaccessible that no foot of Turk has ever set there. The plantations, like those on the plain of Vostitza, are interspersed with two-storied houses of solid masonry. During greater portion of the year, these buildings are uninhabited, partly on account of the unhealthy air of the lowlands, but also because they are principally intended for the storeage and drying of the currants during the gathering autumnal season. Still, to the passing traveller they betoken life and industry, and, coupled with the universal mass of verdure presented by the plantations in this month of May, the aspect of this plain was the most refreshing and gratifying I had yet witnessed throughout our journey. The mountains approach the sea at the rocky point called τὰ μαῦρα λιθάρια, or the Black Rocks, over which the path soon leads, and where the Turks met with their first and real opposition.

Fragments of Hellenic masonry, yet traceable on the rocks, serve to identify this site as the port of Ægeira, the town itself having been planted on the summit of the steep hill, which stands separated from the beach by a strip of land. Ægeira, like Ægæ, was of ancient origin. It was the Hyperesia of Homer, by which name Pausanias declares the place to have been known even in his day. He also states that the name of Ægeira—αἶξ εἰρέα—originated in the border wars with Sicyon, from the circumstance of the Ægeiratans having on one occasion tied lighted torches round the horns of goats, which they then drove in amongst the enemy, thereby creating a panic. A temple was raised to Artemis Agrotera, on the spot where the finest goat, the leader of the others—ἡ καλλίστη

καὶ ἡγουμένη τῶν ἄλλων—lay down to rest, the Ægeiratans believing the successful stratagem to have been inspired by that goddess.*

Ægeira was one of the busiest towns in Achaia, and much frequented by the Phœnicians, who owned a factory within its walls, and who probably established here the temple of the great goddess. Entrance to this temple used only to be permitted on particular days, and even then not without the observance of certain prescribed expiations. The worship of Aphrodite Urania, however, was the chief boast of Ægeira, so great being the veneration accorded to that goddess, that men were excluded altogether from her sanctuary. The Corinthian Gulf had become, from the earliest ages, the resort of the Phœnicians, whose manufactories flourished there, and whose temples to Aphrodite studded its shores in every direction. Nowhere in Greece did her worship obtain so generally—an all-convincing proof, were others missing, of Phœnician commerce and influence. Amongst many various temples, this town possessed a remarkable one to Zeus, containing a sitting statue of the god by Eucleides of Athens, and an upright statue of Athena, which was of wood, with its face and hands of ivory.

The walls of Ægeira can even now be traced round the ancient akropolis and town, which stood upon two terrace-like platforms. A mass of old foundations, fragments of pillars, with other vestiges of different periods, including the Roman, are stated by recent travellers, such as Curtius and Buchon, to be still in existence. The advanced

* Paus. *Achaics*, c. xxvi.

hour of the day precluded the possibility of a personal exploration upon our part, and we were fain to content ourselves with a transient glance at Ægeira's commanding position.

For some space, after passing the Mavra Litharia, our route lay under the shadow of a woody ridge, when we again found ourselves traversing a currant-plain, closed in by hills, and of a similar character to the plain near Akrata. The land forming the flat portion of Achaia, extending along the sea-board, is white and clayey, and thus admirably suited to the plantations covering it. Other parts of the same district, on the contrary, the lower ridges of the mountains namely, and in particular the upland valleys, are said to show a rich mould and to abound in water, qualities which the villagers turn to large profit in the cultivation of wheat, maize, and vines, and which were of equal note in olden times. The fame of the Pellene woollen cloaks was derived from the strong fleece of the healthy flocks bred here, and from the fresh mountain water, which is so necessary an item in the process of that manufacture. The mountains, however, being the loftiest in Arcadia, bring on a rigorous winter season. Even the coast-line is not altogether free from their icy influence, as here they approach the sea nearer than at any other point along this southern shore of the gulf.

One incident alone varied the ride: but that was thoroughly characteristic. Upon our cavalcade nearing one of the groups of magazine-houses, a respectable-looking man, clad in fustanella, was seen to watch our approach. As we came up, he addressed some hurried questions to the foremost

Agoyiate, and then, singling me out, rushed towards me, seized my hands, kissing them enthusiastically, before I could divine his intention. Perceiving my surprise, he then explained that he was the proprietor of large plantations around, that he had been told the English Minister was travelling that road, and that he had been on the look-out for days, in order to take this opportunity of expressing his gratitude to England for the wealth and comfort her commerce had bestowed on him. He refused to give his name: for he asked no favour, and wished to avoid notoriety at Athens, which, on obvious grounds, I fully appreciated. His account of the prosperity tallied with all I had previously heard: he assured me — and I have always had good proof of it—that his feelings were those of the district, and that the people were watchful of all our efforts to ameliorate their condition, and were sincerely grateful to England. Our interview was most cordial, though lasting only a few minutes: but it made a deep impression, both from its disinterested character, and from the additional strong evidence it afforded of the kindly feeling existing in the provinces, compared to that of people under the influence of the capital.

Cape Augo, though not a high promontory, stood erect before us during the whole afternoon, its white cliffs forming a conspicuous object from afar. About seven o'clock we entered a small village, inhabited principally by fishermen, and lying peacefully beside a pebbly beach, under shelter of Cape Augo. The houses were of a kind superior to the ordinary village dwellings, and Dimitri had no difficulty in securing us lodging for the night, in a

two-storied house containing several good rooms. Whilst supper was preparing, we strolled along the beach. Parnassus rose right opposite, in the glow of a golden sunset: a few tiny skiffs still dotted the sea: and we did not leave the enchanting scene, until the sky had long been sparkling with that mass of brilliant stars, which so far surpass those of European skies, as almost to seem the exclusive property of Greece.

May 28.—With but half a day's journey in prospect, we did not begin our ride this morning till past eight o'clock. The road, on leaving the village, makes at first a slight ascent; but, Cape Augo once crossed, it re-descends into a confined plain, flanked by advancing hills. A singularly peaked mountain, called Koryfi, is soon noticeable to the right. It is the same mountain, which was pointed out to Pausanias as Donussa, or Gonoessa, the "lofty Donoessa" of Homer, thus immortalized by him—

Οἵ θ' Ὑπερεσίην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Δονόεσσαν.

And well it answers the poet's description, being 2,250 feet in height, and exceeding even the Acrocorinthus. At its base, lies the khan of Kamaräs. It shows some squared blocks and antique brickwork, supposed by Leake to be remains of Aristonantæ—the port of Pellene, anciently lying among the hills behind—but in which Curtius sees only traces of a Roman aqueduct. Curtius believes the veritable old harbour of Pellene to have been at Xylokastron, situated at the mouth of the Sys, and still serving as the maritime outlet for the district of Trikkala. This harbour, in its existing state, is

so unprotected, that, in bad weather, boats have constantly to run across the gulf to the northern creeks for refuge—whereon arises the doubt, that it could have constituted the original port. Such an argument, however, can carry little weight, as —Vostitza and Patras excepted, which, from their geographical position, do not bear on the point in question—the same may be said of the entire southern line of coast, no one superior harbour existing there to dispute the pretensions even of Xylokastron.

It was near the spot where the Pellenians built a fortress as a protection against the Sicyonians, and within view of Xylokastron, that our route led us into a new territory. The hills retired inland, as the broad plain of Sicyon expanded before us, the Acrocorinthus nobly filling up the background. The high-road, however, did not diverge, but lay straight onward as before, and through the midst of fresh currant verdure.

The sun, attracted by the white soil, sent down its rays with fierce ardour, and, for the first time this season, we began to feel that no amount of enthusiasm could much prolong our travels. Within the last week, the heat had been sensibly increasing: but, whilst mountain-air or sea-breezes lasted, the consequent discomfort had been overlooked. Now that the foe came down in force —though it found us well provided with white umbrellas, muslin veils, and with white head-gear of every kind—nothing seemed to avail, and the ladies especially, hitherto so brave, manifested unmistakeable symptoms of fatigue.

Our hardships in the war were now, for the first

time, seriously discussed. Nor, as the grievance of each came to light, did the miseries of our actual locality escape censure: for, it could not be denied that, whatever doubt might exist as to the pure descent of the present *de jure* possessors of the soil, the Autochthones, famous in antiquity as "Corinthians," are still extant as the *de facto* undisputed heirs of their ancestors. Save a few skirmishers from the *grande armée*, we had not encountered these plagues of the country during the early part of our tour, even at Megaspilion, which is said to be their head-quarters, the monks naïvely assuring us that "it was not yet the season." The weather growing warmer, however, the insect army had hastened to give welcome to our invading force; and the punishment would have become simply unendurable, had we continued exposed to their onslaughts for any number of nights.

By this, the heat had borne so powerfully upon us, as to render our mid-day halt at the village of Sykia more than usually grateful. We had expected little beyond the shelter of some wretched khan. Our surprise was therefore all the happier, when Dimitri drew up, in the seaside street of Sykia, at the door of a house such as for size would not have disgraced Athens itself. Like all the German-Athenian residences, this house was defective in its architecture, and in adaptation to the wants of a southern climate: nevertheless, the mere fact of such an expenditure of money in this remote village gave evidence of a prosperity and advance in civilization, beyond the range of the metropolis, such as was most gratifying to witness.

The proprietor was absent: but the ladies of

the family received us with kindness, placing their rooms at our disposal. The balcony of the *salon*—an apartment of large proportions and amply furnished—commanded an expansive prospect of the gulf. The view was certainly magnificent, Mount Geraneia and Cithæron showing front opposite, whilst Helicon and Parnassus reared their proud crests beyond. In the interior of the establishment, the most striking feature was a much larger display of English porcelain, and of household furniture generally, than is ever seen at Athens or its vicinity. This is easily explained: for the steamers which come here from England during the currant gatherings, make their outward voyages laden with miscellaneous exports, thus bringing to the Corinthian side of the isthmus a double return from their lucrative commerce.

However unpromising our own experience of the Sicyonian plain, from the foretaste of oppressive heat it gave us, its climate does not seem shared by this village, the inhabitants of which delight to expatiate on the refreshing coolness of their summer season. Constant breezes, they told us, blow up from the sea, and down from the mountains facing them—an inviting account, which I have heard confirmed by Athenians, such as the family of Admiral Criesis, who own vineyards near, and often pass summer months at Sykià. There is also a pretty beach here, enticing to those who love their daily plunge. These beneficial qualities notwithstanding, Sykià has a bare, uncovered, sun-struck appearance, which, when added to its close proximity to Corinth, and its unmistakable signs of identity of suffering in the late disastrous earth-

quake—as seen on every side through the village, in the cracked walls and ominous ground-chasms —must outbalance all its vaunted attractions, at least in my personal estimation.

Gladly profiting by the shelter of a roof so hospitably offered us, we dined here and remained a few hours, when, the atmosphere shaking off its meridian heat and freshening to a breeze, we resumed our ride to Sicyon, now within easy distance.

At the outset, the road continued on close to the shore: but it soon struck obliquely across the country towards an elevated platform, which had made a landmark since forenoon, and which denotes the site of ancient Sicyon. An insignificant stream was passed, supposed to be the Helisson; and, as we proceeded, fragments of masonry above ground became here and there observable. I was assured on good authority, that similar remains can be traced the whole way down to the sea; and, the straight line they lie in from Sicyon affords proof sufficient of their having formed portion of the old wall of connection between the city and its harbour, which last was situated at two miles from the Akropolis.

In about an hour, our cavalcade reached the base, and, ascending by a steep bridle-path, we entered the Albanian village of Vasilikà, which stands at the northern extremity, and close to the edge, of this platform. None but women were to be seen, their husbands being still absent at field-work; but Dimitri hailed old friends and *compares* among the crowd, by whom we were cheerfully received and quickly provided with comfortable

lodgings. This curious table-land, once so densely populated, is at present inhabited only in the one small corner containing Vasilikà. Its houses, numbering thirty or forty, are larger and better than those of ordinary Greek villages: the people too seemed joyous and contented. Yet this scanty collection of human beings—the sole sign of habitation, where once there flourished so populous a city—tended to intensify rather than lessen the general aspect of desertion.

On a survey of the country from outside Vasilikà, the commanding position of Sicyon manifests itself very strikingly; whence, in view of its two-fold adaptation to military and agricultural pursuits, it is not difficult to realize the former opulence and importance of the place. From the very primary days of Sicyon, we must suppose the Akropolis to have stood upon this table-land, howsoever Pausanias may infer the contrary. Leake conjectures rightly, that its distance from the sea, and the accumulation of sanctuaries on it, would alone point out such a height as of early habitation. Moreover, with a surface of upwards of three miles in circumference, it affords larger space for building than any similar plateau in Greece, whilst its elevation above the plain, though slight, is perfectly defended by a circuit of abrupt precipices. Their base is watered by two rivers: the Asopus, issuing from the defile behind, borders the eastern side, and the Helisson, a considerably smaller stream, the western. But, it was not on natural resources alone that Sicyon depended in time of war. The city had furthermore an abundant supply of water, by means of underground aqueducts, which pierced the higher

level, and of which some vaulted openings can be still detected. The antiquity of these subterranean passages is certain, Plutarch* stating that it was through one of them the tyrant Nikokles escaped, upon the triumphant entry of Aratus into Sicyon.† When Sicyon was at the zenith of its power, the houses of the citizens must have quite covered the ground between the citadel and harbour, which, as we have noted, were united by strong fortifications two miles in length. In a military point of view, this union was of great value to the Sicyonians, inasmuch as it enabled them simultaneously to block the passage into the Peloponnesus by the Asopus valley leading to Phlius on the south, and to arrest with effect any progress towards the west by the route along the gulf-shore.

The superior qualification of Sicyon for works of peace, and its success in husbandry and commerce, are constantly referred to by ancient authors. Lucian‡ and Virgil,§ for instance, very distinctly recognize the fertility of the Asopia. Plutarch‖ speaks of the gardens under the city walls as proverbial for their productive power, and which, beneath the precipitous heights of Sicyon, must have presented an appearance not dissimilar to that of the gardens now lying below the Theban

* Plut. *Aratus*, 9 ; Paus. *Corinth*, c. 8.

† Later, under Demetrius Poliorcetes, the inhabitants of the table-land enjoyed even the luxury of gardens ; and Diodorus, remarking on the policy of the king, adds : "Having an abundance of water, they cultivate fertile gardens ; and thus the sagacity of the king at once provided them with pleasure in peace, and protection in time of war."—Diod. xx. 102.

‡ Luc. *Icaromen*, c. 18. § Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 519.

‖ Plut. *Aratus*, 7.

Cadmeia, where a rich soil and plentiful irrigation combine to bring forth melons and other fruit renowned throughout Greece. The olive thrived so notably in the fat, oily, Sicyonian earth, that, in process of time, it became known as the "berry of Sicyon." Even the wild flowers on the hills around have had their share of glory in the famed Sicyonian garlands.* Athenæus† also honours with especial mention the fish of the neighbouring sea, as of peculiar size and flavour. The maritime plain gained celebrity, by its high-bred race of horses; and we have the testimony of Demosthenes,‡ that one item of extravagance amongst the Athenian spendthrifts of his day, was a pair of horses from Sicyon. Nor were the arts neglected; although, from a difference of material, their cultivation took another direction, never aspiring to rivalry with Athens. The adaptability to modelling of the white clay of this district, favoured the manufacture of vases, whilst the absence of marble became the means of promoting works in chryselephantine statuary and sculpture in bronze, which was further encouraged by an early trading with the Phœnicians. The extraordinary number of such statues found by Pausanias at Sicyon, is in itself a proof of what bent the arts had there taken. The Sicyonian school of painting, too, was celebrated. Polemo wrote a work upon the decorations of the Pœcile; and, when this city was being oppressed by the Romans, the inhabitants pledged their paintings as their greatest treasure, in order to satisfy the demands of the con-

* Athen. xv. 678. † Id. i. 27. ‡ Dem. c. *Mid.* p. 564.

querors. Pliny states, that they were borne off by M. Scaurus, to adorn his theatre in Rome, which accounts fully for the silence of Pausanias on this subject.*

Such manifold properties brought fame and profit to Sicyon, almost from its dawn. Her sanctuaries, venerated over the land, were sung by bard and poet. Sicyonian influence extended even to the northern side of the gulf, as we know from its early history. Moreover, the mythology, analogous forms of religious worship, and much of the nomenclature of Bœotia — for example, Asopus — show evident affinity, and consequently an intercourse; and, vice versâ, the *cultus* of Dionysos at Sicyon itself, imported from Thebes, proving that the interchange was mutual. Notwithstanding, as prosperity augmented, the Dorian element obtained ascendancy, and Sicyon succumbed to an oligarchy. Before long, she became the nurse of tyrants, in both senses of the word — *tyrannorum nutrix* — till despotism seemed there indigenous. For a hundred years, one family, that of Orthagoras, usurped the reins of power. Their rule, nevertheless, was in all probability benign: for, it is to this period one looks for the brightest page in Sicyon's history. The territory was enlarged, and commerce extended, whilst the arts were patronized and public edifices erected to decorate the city: no court of the time surpassed that of Kleisthenes in splendour, and the chariot victories of the tyrants were famous throughout the Grecian world.

This prosperity, however, was of short duration;

* Plin. xxxv. 40, 127.

and Sicyon soon fell to a secondary position. When Demetrius Poliorcetes took Sicyon (B.C. 303), he found the population so reduced, that the three districts, into which the city was divided, were separated one from another, each by their own walls, and by uninhabited tracts. At once noting the military weakness of such a distribution, he compelled the inhabitants of the plain to remove to the height, where protection was safe and sure. To reconcile them to the change, he instituted new festivals, and ornamented the city with various new erections.* Industry immediately began to revive, and the immense quantity of Sicyonian coin, which subsequently became current in Greece, is proof incontrovertible of the restoration of its commerce and riches. Sicyon took a distinguished part in the Achaian league, under the brilliant leadership of Aratus: and, later still, on the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, having obtained the territory of its fallen neighbour, it rose eventually to somewhat of its former prominence. But, a few years after, Sicyon, like most Greek towns of that day, finally sank to rise no more; and, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, one of those earthquakes, which are the bane of this country, dealt it apparently the finishing stroke. When Pausanias travelled, this once thriving city was all but depopulated; and, though many of its temples still existed, the whole of Sicyon was then in a sad state of dilapidation.

From Vasilikà we set out to explore in the direction of the theatre. The tabular platform—

* Diod. B. 20, c. 102; Plut. *Demetr*. 25.

nearly triangular in shape—divides itself into an upper and lower level, by a small ridge of rock running right across it. It was on the upper level that Demetrius Poliorcetes established the citadel, leaving the temples, public monuments, and private houses, to occupy the flat and larger portion of the plateau. No ruins are to be seen, save those of a Roman building containing several chambers: but, on the other hand, the foundations of dwelling-houses, and the street-lines, are more wonderfully preserved than in any site of Greece. Laid out with mathematical precision, and in so far resembling Nicæa and many other towns of the Alexandrian period, these streets clearly belong to the "New Sicyon" of Demetrius. None of the remains, whether of public or private habitations, rise above ground—unlike Pompeii, where the disinterred houses are so perfect in preservation, as to bring to light the civic and domestic economy of its people. Yet, of these streets of Sicyon, enough is left to illustrate very remarkably two noteworthy facts, namely, the diminutive dimensions of the houses, and the rule followed in antiquity and alluded to by Vitruvius,* which directs that the thoroughfares of a town should lie between the points of the principal local winds. In accordance with this prescription, at Sicyon the streets were made to extend from north-east to south-west, and from north-west to south-east—an arrangement which, to this day, is plainly perceptible in the ground-plan.

From out the face of the dividing ridge the

* Vitruv. i. 67–8.

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theatre was scooped, under the Akropolis, and some way westward on the plateau. Though in so far like most Greek theatres, this one has the additional peculiarity of its proscenium also, measuring 75 feet in length, being hewn out of the living rock. The proscenium is quite discernible, as are many of the seats. Leake declares these to have been ranged in forty rows, of three divisions, which were separated again by two diazomata: he gives 400 feet as the diameter of the entire theatre, with 100 as that of the orchestra. In the centre of the *scene*, Pausanias found the statue of Aratus holding a shield.

The two extreme ends of the rows of seats are upheld by massive walls of quadrangular masonry, put together without cement, and perforated by arched openings or vomitoria.

The beauty of the position, is much enhanced by the noble landscape which lies beyond: and, as we were scrambling over the broken rock, deep in our exploration of the upper seat-row, we suddenly beheld the spectacle lit up by the western sun, with every line of the rugged Acrocorinthus distinctly marked against the horizon.

On the flat ground, immediately below the theatre, are the foundations of a small temple, which, judging by Pausanias' account, doubtless fix the site of the Dionysium. He notes there a chryselephantine statue of the god, and marble statues of the Bacchæ. Dionysus was much venerated in Sicyon, his worship having been imported partly from Phlius and partly from Bœotia; and Pausanias, in relating a ceremony special to Sicyon, clearly shows its connection with

Thebes. He writes, that in one night in the year, statues, which otherwise lay concealed in a place called Cosmeterium, were borne processionally to this naos by the Sicyonians, the people carrying lighted torches, and singing the while hymns of the country. The first statue was named Baccheius, —the other had been brought over from Thebes by the Theban Phanes, at the instigation of the Delphic oracle.

Passing from the upper part of the theatre, across the path which now leads from Vasilikà to Stymphalus, we came upon the higher edge of the Stadium. It lies in a hollow, north-west of the theatre. The form is still perfect, and, according to Leake, it measures 680 feet in length, including the seats at the circular end, and which, cut from the slope of the hill, are here and there still to be seen. The line of seats, however, did not extend along the entire length (in this resembling the stadium at Messene), and Leake states that a space of 80 feet at least of the course was without any. This portion, moreover, consisted of artificial ground, supported by walls. Strolling in that direction, we first met the low wall, which is believed by Curtius to have formed the bounds of the race-course : and then, a little further on, a massive transverse wall of polygonal masonry showed where the stadium finally ended. Some assume both theatre and stadium to date from Demetrius. We know, however, that the famed Apollo festival took place close by, and that even Kleisthenes, whose palace was in the plain, adorned the sanctuary and added to the splendour of the games on this height. It seems probable, therefore, that

theatre and stadium stood even then on their present sites.

Pausanias arrives at Sicyon from Corinth, and, noticing some tombs outside the gate, at once ascends to the Akropolis. He there sees only two temples, that of Tyche Akræa, and of the Dioscuri, both containing wooden statues. After describing the theatre and Dionysium, he proceeds to the Agora, meeting on his way with one of those ruined temples then so numerous in Sicyon—that of Artemis Limnæa, roofless and without statues. Around the Agora were gathered the chief hiera of the town, and especially those belonging to Apollo, whose worship was the principal and most ancient of the state.

At the entrance of the Agora, had been erected the temple of Peitho — also at that time statueless —in gratitude to that goddess, to whose persuasive powers the Sicyonians attributed the return of Apollo and Artemis, when the latter had left their city in anger. Pausanias narrates that these deities, having repaired to Ægialæa, after slaying the serpent Python, for the purpose of purification, were driven thence by fear. The inhabitants of this district being soon after struck with disease, their priests advised them to propitiate Apollo and Artemis. The Sicyonians accordingly sent seven boys and seven girls to supplicate the river Sythas — which formed their western boundary—in consequence of which, the offended divinities were supposed to have been persuaded to return to Sicyon. Even in his day, the remembrance of this event was preserved by an annual procession, with images of the deities, to the Sythas; and, on the return to

Sicyon, these images were deposited in the temple of Peitho, before being restored to that of Apollo.

But, the chief glory of the Agora was the Apollo temple itself. The edifice seen by Pausanias was not the original one, which had been destroyed by fire, but a later temple built by Pythocles. Amongst its benefactors, King Attalus the First appears pre-eminent: for his colossal bronze statue, 15 feet high, though not existing when Pausanias travelled, stood opposite the sanctuary in the time of Polybius.* In the Agora was also celebrated the Apollo festival, the pride of Sicyon, which was founded by Adrastus, and promoted and endowed by all subsequent rulers. Close to the temple of Peitho stood the former palace of the tyrant Cleon, belonging to the more modern period of Sicyon. It was from this very house that Aratus drove out Nikokles, and, which having been set fire to at break of day, the flames are stated to have been seen at Corinth. Pausanias records its dedication to the Roman emperors. In front of the palace, appropriately stood the heroum of Aratus—the noble hero of Sicyon. In its vicinity was an altar—*βωμὸς*—to Poseidon: for, how could such a wrathful divinity be forgotten, within so close a range of his home at the Isthmus? Zeus Meilichius and Artemis Patroa had also monuments, but of a very archaic description, that of Zeus being in the form of a pyramid, and the monument of Artemis a column. Near the council chamber followed the stoa of Kleisthenes, built by that tyrant from the spoils of the Cirrha war, and

* Polyb. B. 17, c. 16.

which made, without doubt, one of his contributions to the glory of the Apollo festival. In the centre of the Agora, Pausanias found a bronze statue of Zeus by Lysippus, and a gilt one of Artemis, besides the ruined naos of Apollo Lykeius, and bronze statues of the Prœtan daughters, of Hercules, and of Hermes Agoraius.

Not far from the Agora was formerly the Gymnasium, containing a marble statue of Hercules by Scopas. Pausanias also mentions in this quarter an inclosure called Paidize, and in the middle of it a naos to Hercules, with an archaic wooden image by Laphaes of Phlius. Proceeding onwards, he reached the Æsculapium. On the left, without the inclosure, he found a small building composed of an outer and inner compartment, and, in the outer, a statue of Sleep, of which only the head remained: the inner, dedicated to Apollo Karneios, priests alone might enter. In the portico of this sanctuary, Pausanias likewise saw statues of the god of Dreams, and again of Sleep, here named Epidotes, and which lulled a lion to rest. On another side of the entrance, there was an upright statue of Pan, and a sitting one of Artemis. The naos itself contained a chryselephantine statue of Æsculapius, as a youth without a beard—the work of Calamis. In one hand he held a sceptre, and, in the other, the fruit of the cultivated pine. Aristodama, the mother of Aratus, was also represented here; and votive offerings would seem to have been suspended around.

The temple of Aphrodite had an apparent connection with the Æsculapium, for Pausanias passes immediately from one to the other. This temple

included likewise a chryselephantine statue of the goddess, in a sitting posture, made by Canachus, a Sicyonian. Pausanias mentions particularly that none but the priestesses were admitted within the sanctuary, and that all others had to worship the image from outside. Advancing towards the gymnasium built by Cleinias, Pausanias meets a hieron of Artemis Pheræa, which had a wooden statue brought from Pheræ. In this gymnasium, he notes a statue of Hercules, half the figure only being polished, and another of Hercules in hermal shape.

From this point Pausanias turns towards the Sacred Gate, and, close to the gate itself, he discovers the ruins of the famed temple of Athena, the finest of its day, built by Epopeus, one of the first kings of Sicyon. It had been destroyed by lightning, the altar alone remaining. In front of this altar, Epopeus lay buried; and his tomb was guarded by two images of the Apotropæi, or the "Averters of Evil." Epopeus likewise erected temples to Apollo and Artemis close by, whilst Adrastus built a large one to Hera, besides marble altars to Pan and Helios, in the rear. At but a short distance from the Heræum lay two other ruined temples, that of Apollo Karneios, deriving from Adrastus, and of Hera Prodomia, erected by Phalces: but both were without walls or roof when Pausanias passed through Sicyon, nothing but the columns then existing. This last cluster of sanctuaries clearly dated from the first age of Sicyon, and from the period of its most venerated traditions, and must have composed a quarter in itself. Of imposing aspect too, when beheld from the plain beneath, it is easy to comprehend how the poets,

speaking of Sicyon by its early name of Mekone, came to call it — Μεκώνη, *μακάρων ἕδρανον** — the "abode of the blessed." Precisely on this account, it seems surprising that Pausanias should have found this portion in so dilapidated a condition; but, if it could have been then so neglected, we need not wonder at the total disappearance subsequently of stone or ruin of all description.

It had grown late, before our exploratory rambles led us back to Vasilikà; and, though we felt also fatigued by the morning's heat, the regret seemed general, that this was to be the last evening of our pleasant gipsy-life.

* Callim. Fragm. 195, p. 513; Hesiod, *Theogn.* 535.

CHAPTER XI.

CORINTH.

May 29.—The packing being still unfinished—though, in view of an easy day's journey to Kalimaki, the task was less arduous than usual—I strolled to some old churches near, built up of ancient blocks and fragments, like so many at Athens and elsewhere in Greece. No inscription, nor aught else of interest, was discoverable in them; and they only help to verify the existence of Sicyon after the Christian era—a fact already known by its mention, under the name of Hellas, in early chronicles. The fragments, however, may be pieces of the Heræum and Epopeian temples. If the gap in the rock at Vasilikà be the Sacred Gate, as Leake supposes—and with probability—the modern village must stand on the site of these ancient sanctuaries. Excavations in this quarter might place the fact beyond doubt, but the accumulation of soil on this table-land can never have been sufficient to hide treasures to any great amount, and would certainly not reward the labour so well as in many other situations. A gushing stream issues from the rock close to Vasilikà, but no traveller has yet discovered the Stazusa fountain, stated by Pausanias to have been near the Corinth gate, by which he entered the town. This

gate must have lain to the south-east of Vasilikà, and, in that direction, my guide pointed out large blocks of the fortifying wall, which formerly crowned the height in its entire circumference, and of which like portions still stand at intervals around. The morning air was fresh at this elevation, and the landscape shone in all its historic forms. From Acrocorinthus, terminating the verdant Asopia, the eye stretches across the Isthmus to Mount Geraneia, here lying in slopes of greater variety, albeit rising from the blue waters beneath more abruptly than when seen from the Saronic Gulf. But little imagination is needful to picture the Temple of Hera, on the promontory of Perakhora, at the western end of the mountain facing Sicyon. From behind this cape peer out the islands of Kalanisia, at the entrance to the Bay of Ægosthenæ; whilst Cithæron, Helicon, and Parnassus, close up the north-west side with the finest panorama a city could possess.

Leaving the bracing height, we descended by yesterday's pathway to the plain, and soon crossed the Asopus, which lazily pursued its course towards the sea. In summer this river often runs dry; for which Pausanias accounts by the myth of the Eumenides, who, having once bathed there, caused the waters to recede in fear and trembling. Thenceforth, our road lay for two hours, in a straight line over this cultivated plain. The heat grew oppressive, as on the previous day, but we soon reached an extensive olive-grove affording welcome shade. The trees, though not so venerable-looking as those of Attica, have a fuller and healthier appearance, and, by their locality alone,

may justly claim descent from illustrious ancestors. Two hours brought us within close view of the columns of the Temple at Corinth, and thus once more amongst old friends. Not only had we been here frequently before, some of us having climbed the Acrocorinthus already three or four times, but every feature of the Isthmus was so familiar to our party, that we felt as if at home again, and novelty henceforward vanished from our ride.

My first acquaintance with Corinth was in the days of Turkish domination, when the Bey's residence, the houses, and the mosques with their picturesque minarets, intermingling with cypresses and with gardens of orange and other fruit-trees, made a far prettier effect, than on my second visit within the last few years, when I found it struggling into a quasi-European civilization. The Turkish Beys lived here in princely fashion, and, from one cause or another, the dignity had become almost hereditary, having been enjoyed by the same family for nearly a hundred years. Their palace, situated in the quarter nearest the gulf, and commanding the most enchanting prospect, was a good specimen of oriental luxury. The harems, baths, and gardens, were celebrated: and the latter even included within their precincts what is still called "the bath of Aphrodite," or the "Grotto of the Nymphs." It is a large cool grotto covered over with maiden-fern and creeping plants, and facing the sea, so that the heat can never penetrate its depths. Kiamil Bey, the last of his race, was the most powerful of all, and was known to have amassed large wealth. Happening to be absent at Tripolitza, when the revolution broke out, and

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CORINTH

moved by apprehension of danger to his family and treasures, he feigned approval of the movement, and is even reported to have drunk success to the cause. The Greeks, however, would not let him escape so easily, and forced him to write to his wife, desiring her to yield up his treasure. But he had contrived to warn her beforehand, and nothing could move her to obey his written order. He was, in consequence, taken back to Corinth, and imprisoned in the Acrocorinthus with all his family. No threats or manœuvres, however, could induce him to disclose the hiding-place of his wealth, and, at last, when Dramali Pasha was about to enter the Peloponnesus, the Hydriote soldier-priest Achilleas, who momentarily commanded the fortress, strangled Kiamil Bey with his own hand, before evacuating this important position. Some assert that the much-coveted treasure was ultimately revealed to Dramali himself, by Kiamil Bey's widow, whom he married soon after: but certain it is, that the Greeks obtained no trace of it, and Turkish reminiscences of all kinds have been as effectually obliterated from the Isthmus, as from every other spot—Chalcis perhaps excepted—throughout Greece.

But, a truly overwhelming disaster befell Corinth, in the earthquake of last February; and the place now presents a woeful scene of desolation. Some of the houses have been levelled to the ground, but all have been rendered uninhabitable, and the whole population are living in tents. The destructive shock fortunately occurred at 10 a.m., so that many were out of doors. In a town so small, the loss of life was slight, compared to what we hear

of in populous countries: nevertheless sixteen or eighteen people were killed or suffocated by the dust of the falling houses, and several much hurt. The first shock we distinctly felt at Athens, but not any of the others subsequently.

This lamentable earthquake not only continued with more or less violence for five or six weeks, as is usual in bad cases of earthquake, but the shocks have never wholly ceased, and the ground still vibrates very sensibly. No sooner is a wall rebuilt, than it is shaken down again, and it is a service of danger to enter a dwelling. The house of M. Orphanides, which more than once had hospitably sheltered us on former occasions, was now entirely opened up in front. Anecdotes of their sufferings were told us by many. Trade is completely paralyzed, and the people thoroughly puzzled how to act. The large subscriptions collected for their aid, both in Greece and abroad, cannot suffice, if this state of things continue much longer; and, at present, there seems little chance of a return to peace and stability. Dejection was depicted on every countenance, and how could it be otherwise? What more disheartening than to find no rest for the sole of your foot, nor where to lay your head in safety, nor even certainty that mother earth might not suddenly open her arms and bury you alive in her embrace? There is serious talk of transferring the town to another locality, and the population being so scanty, the task would be less difficult now, than at some future period. To us it seemed marvellous, that the inhabitants had not already emigrated of their own free will: but, on the contrary, the proposal meets with considerable

opposition. The town of Corinth has never occupied but this one site, on a broad table-land, situated at the western base of the mountain, 170 feet above the sea. The larger proprietors, having much to lose, flatter themselves that, once the present *secousse* passes over, the ground will return to its former normal condition; and all classes cling with customary tenacity to the soil and scenes, which the greater number have known and lived amongst, from childhood upwards. Events can alone solve the problem, and it is perhaps premature as yet to decide the question.*

Desiring to accomplish the rather arduous ascent of the mountain, whilst the day was young and

* Since the above was written, the contemplated change has been effected. The plan of "New Corinth" having been laid out by the Government in 1859, near the western shore of the Isthmus, and about four miles from the old town, barracks and government offices were quickly erected, and all the officials transferred to this new quarter. The inhabitants followed, though reluctantly at first, and within the last few years three or four hundred good houses have been built, containing nearly the same number of souls as Old Corinth, previous to the earthquake. The town, however, is traced on too large a scale, so that, although the streets are regular, there is little connection between the houses, and wide spaces intervene. But, the climate being more healthy than that of Old Corinth, and the water excellent, it is hoped that the population will increase. Moreover, this new town lies close to the spot where on some future day the new canal is to be cut through the Isthmus. A mole is in course of construction; and, although the anchorage is not good, the gulf steamers make New Corinth their station, instead of stopping at Lutraki, as formerly, which place they now frequent only in bad weather. A road has also been made from the town to Kalimaki, and one along the shore to Lutraki. In short, "New Corinth" is now the recognized head of the district, —the residence of the Nomarch, Eparch, Finance and Custom-house *employés*, and of the gendarmerie; possessing, besides, the same schools and arrangements as the old town.—Ed.

our energies were still fresh, we reserved a minute examination of these modern ruins for the afternoon.

The Acrocorinthus, rising 1,770 feet above the level of the Isthmus, requires one hour and a half to reach its summit. Of this ascent, one half is made on horseback, by a good bridle-path up the western side, whilst the other half, inside the enclosure, is still made on foot, as during the Venetian occupation, and probably throughout all ages. On approaching the first entrance, the mountain is seen to divide into two summits, the whole being encircled by walls, of which those portions near the gate are Hellenic, and no doubt the same as are noticed by Strabo. Similar ancient masses of masonry exist on many points of the hill, in general forming supports to the later additions of Crusader, Venetian, and Turk. The gate itself is a solid block of building, apparently mediæval: but a peaked hill opposite commands it, which was fortified by the Villehardouins, and which, being only 1,000 yards distant, would, in the hands even of a mediæval foe, effectually obstruct ingress or egress by this the principal entrance.

On dismounting outside, the gate was opened for us by the full garrison, mustering seven men! which number, however, suffices to overawe an enemy, now consisting exclusively of inquisitive travellers or of the few shepherds wandering about these hills with their flocks. Unlike the Palamede, this "key of the Peloponnesus" is at present merely a heap of ruins—a standing witness to the ebb and flow of the human race, and to the shifting character of its interests. The position is in itself

so well-nigh impregnable, that, if fortified upon a modern system, there is no doubt it would become most formidable. Even in its actual state of dilapidation, if well provisioned, a handful of men could hold it against almost any force. During the war of independence, the fortress several times changed hands; and the excuse given by the Greeks, when abandoning it, was the want of foresight on the part of the commissariat. But, when money fails daily in Greece for the practical needs of the community, to fortify Corinth were wanton waste indeed. So long too as the Greeks keep their thoughts concentrated on the improvement of their own territory, the guarantee of the three protecting powers is the true substitute for the military importance of the Acrocorinthus.

Nor could this fortress, like others, serve as a prison: for it is the stronghold of intermittent fever. The men who are told off for duty here, know beforehand what awaits them, as they say of governors appointed to Sierra Leone, though with this substantial difference, that the consequences at the Acrocorinthus rarely prove fatal. This time, the men looked healthier and more cheerful: but, on my last visit, they were loud in their murmurs, assuring me that no guard could be kept, were it not for the fortunate circumstance of the ague seizing them alternately, thus leaving just two of them each day fit for duty. This peculiarity of the Acrocorinthus, is a manifest refutation of the theory that elevation above the sea ensures freedom from malaria. Rank vegetation, no matter in what locality it may exist, is a well-known cause of fever, and certain plants are more to be dreaded

than others. Many physicians of the country have confirmed me in this opinion. That highly-respected and worthy Philhellene, Dr. Treiber, now Surgeon-in-chief of the Greek army, and who so devotedly served the Greek forces all through the revolution, has in particular given me many proofs of the poisonous effect produced by plants in various districts, quite independently of their elevation above the sea. The atmosphere engendered by them at night is as fruitful a source of ague, as a marshy quarter or as checked perspiration, which are also too often its cause. He frequently, for instance, has cautioned me against sleeping in the open air under shelter of the Agnus castus, the delicate foliage and blossoms of which would hardly suggest an idea of danger, but which the experience of many campaigns had made familiar to him. But the most hurtful weed is the φλόμος, the mullein or wood-blade, which grows in undisturbed luxuriance in many parts of Greece. Its baneful influence was so recognized in Turkish times, that large bands were sent out every spring to cut it down. This is still occasionally done at Athens, but more frequently neglected. In 1850, for example, I remember it was allowed to get ahead. Of a bright and pretty green in April and May, it is then also harmless; but, when running to seed in autumn, it emits an offensive odour, especially after sunset, which infects the atmosphere, and is said to breed fever. At all events, that same year—1850—was noted for fever, and large numbers fell victims to the malady. This same phlomos holds undisputed sway on the Acrocorinthus: its seed flies thence all round the country: and the

garrison might confer greater benefit on the community, by endeavouring to clear away this nuisance, than by any attempt at more martial duty.

Within the walled enclosure, devastation and weeds hold sway. Like Monemvasia, this secure position had become a refuge for the entire population of the plain, during times of disturbance in all ages. There the women, children, and treasures, were deposited, even, as we have seen, to the most recent period. Hence arose the strange intermixture of those remains of Turkish mosques, Christian churches, and dwelling-houses, of every race and era, which now cover this summit. When Wheler and Spon passed here in 1676—182 years ago—they found five or six churches, including a small cathedral for the bishop, besides three or four mosques, inside the fortifications. Large fragments of these still exist: but, of ancient Greek work, nothing, save some beautiful pieces of serpentine columns, can now be traced. Nor is this a matter of surprise: for Strabo, who travelled fifty years after the restoration of Corinth by Cæsar, and Pausanias, who followed him 150 years later, saw no buildings on the hill worthy of mention, except the Temple of Aphrodite. The gardens, terraces—πεδία καὶ ἄλση—and edifices with which it was entirely covered, were as ruthlessly destroyed by Mummius, as everything in the town below. Evidence of their former existence, is alone discernible in the white marble pavement of the present pathway leading from the gate upwards. A large cistern, 100 feet in length and cut in the rock, probably dates from early times:

though its vaulted roof of brick, supported by pillars of the same material, is clearly the addition of a subsequent age. Further south-west, there is also a large chamber, said to be always filled with spring-water: but we could not afford leisure to-day, to turn aside from the direct road, nor even to search for the upper Peirene source, which Strabo noticed close to the summit. Moreover, explorations in the Acrocorinthus cannot be undertaken with impunity. One of the most remarkable features of the mountain, is its extraordinary supply of water—an invaluable blessing in times of war, but fraught with constant danger to peaceful wanderers. The wells and springs are so numerous, that modern Corinthians love to boast that they equal in number the days of the year. Numerous as well as dangerous they decidedly are, hid away among the tall grass and weeds; and the guides wisely caution enthusiastic explorers, against deviating from the beaten track. Indeed, it is hardly possible to ascend this upper part, without calling to mind the fatal accident, which stands on record to justify such precautions. It occurred in 1836, when Captain Pryce, commanding H.M.'s ship *Portland*, and cruising in these waters, made an excursion with several of his officers to Corinth and the Acrocorinthus. Strolling about the hill in various directions during the day, none of the party were missed until a late hour, when the ship's purser was nowhere to be seen. This caused little uneasiness, however, the natural supposition being that some freak or other had induced him to return early to the ship, then anchored at Kalimaki. But no tidings of him could be had there, nor any

further trace discovered on the mountain, every corner of which was searched in vain for days afterwards—the natives explaining the mystery by asserting that he had fallen into one of these countless wells. No doubt this was the fact; but, whether the result of accident, or of foul play caused by the knowledge of his being treasurer to the party, has never been ascertained; and his melancholy end now serves no other purpose, than to point a caution to his too adventurous fellow-countrymen.

After a good scramble, over sharp stones and bare masses of rock, we at length reached our goal —the small mosque perched on a point overhanging the northern edge of the mountain.

Here once stood the celebrated temple of Aphrodite, and from this spot is still seen the world-famed view, unsurpassed by any other that I know. The day was clear, and we could easily scan the beautiful landscape and recognize each familiar landmark. Due east lay the island of Salamis, showing the bright waters of its bay between its northern shore and that of Attica; beyond, stood out in clear form the Akropolis of Athens, its outline so distinct, though at a distance of fifty miles, that we were able to distinguish the Parthenon itself, whilst overtopping all extended the long line of Hymettus, with the coast scenery terminating far away on the horizon in a headland close to Sunium. Facing us, as it were within hail, rose Geraneia, followed westward by that noble range we had been viewing these days past,—many snow-filled clefts of Parnassus still sparkling in the noontide sun. And at our feet stretched *the*

Isthmus,—called the "gate of the Peloponnesus" by Xenophon, the "bridge of the sea" by Pindar, and the "home of Poseidon," the head-quarters of his restless majesty, by all antiquity. At this moment there lay at anchor close under the Poseidonium, in the small harbour of Schœnus—the present Kalimaki—our own good ship the *Desperate*, which had come to take us back to Athens, and now flaunted its red ensign right beneath the ancient quarters of the God. Our hearts warmed, and we gave a hearty cheer at sight of our old friend. It was impossible too not to feel grateful to the French poet for having supplied us with so true an expression of our conviction, that—

Le trident de Neptune, c'est le sceptre du monde.

Corinthian tradition asserted that here—as at Athens with Athena—Poseidon contended with Helios for sole possession of the Corinthia. The dispute seems to have been settled by Briareus assigning the Isthmus to Poseidon, and the Acrocorinthus to Helios or Apollo. In his turn Apollo ceded his rights to Aphrodite, retiring himself, it would appear, to the town, where Pausanias notices a large temple in his honour.

Aphrodite, once established on this summit, reigned supreme, spreading her corrupting influence around. Her temple must always have been diminutive, as this narrow ledge of rocks only admits of a small platform. It soon, however, became a beacon from afar to the weary mariner approaching Corinth by either gulf. Pausanias states that the statue of the goddess was armed—

ὠπλισμένη—and stood between those of Eros and Apollo. The shrine attained such popularity, that the temple could not contain the votive offerings; but its temenos and possessions must have been on the other hand extensive, for in the palmy days of Corinth the priestesses of Aphrodite numbered a thousand. Chosen from amongst the fairest maidens of the district, they became the chief source of its corruption: for licence of every kind was sanctioned as part of their religious service, and special injunctions were given to make themselves attractive to strangers. They ultimately grew to be a power in the state, and we read that care was always taken to ensure their presence at every solemnity in the city. Amongst the countless votive-offerings mentioned by various writers, Theopompus* especially notices the celebrated one offered by the Corinthians after the battle of Salamis, in which these priestesses were represented as supplicating Aphrodite to preserve their Akropolis from the Persians. Large blocks of the ancient platform still exist, but no further traces of the temple are observable. A Byzantine church became its successor, replaced later by a small mosque, on which last relic of past ages time is also laying his stern finger. At our former visit, two years ago, the dome was then almost entire, but to-day we found the roof in ruins, having been thrown down between the walls by the earthquake of February.

Contemplating this superb panorama, two peculiarities of ancient Greece become strikingly clear

* Theopomp. in Athenæus, xiii. p. 573.

—the diminutive size of these once powerful autonomies, none so large as an English county—and the true causes of Corinthian power. In the space of a few hours, we had traversed the length of Sicyon, the Corinthia was within our grasp, Athens looked close at hand, and yet another state, that of Megara, lay between; whilst Bœotia, Phocis, and various others, stood to our right and left.

But even more visible are the elements of Corinth's greatness. Holding in her hand the entrance to the Peloponnesus, she at the same time commanded both seas; the limited extent of cultivable ground in her possession forced her population to turn to commerce, which in return brought the reward of energy and enterprise back to the mother city. With no room for expansion at home, colonization became a state necessity, and, impelled by her commercial instincts, Corinth maintained connection with and control over her settlements for a much longer period than any other Greek state. Her position between the two gulfs, with two harbours at short distance of the town, was especially favourable to the coast-navigation of antiquity; and we consequently find early traces of intercourse with Phœnicia. Hence, doubtless, sprung the worship of Aphrodite, the gold and silver tissues for which her priestesses were famous, and the mussel-fishery at Cenchreæ, of which the mussel on the old coin of Corinth is a proof.

This position, moreover, threw the means of transit from one shore to the other into Corinthian hands. The celebrated Diolkos, or road across which the

smaller craft were dragged on rollers,* was the evident result of large traffic, and the project of a ship canal—so often spoken of in antiquity, but never carried out—only its natural successor. Looking down over the ground from the Acrocorinthus, one feels an irresistible longing to make the cutting. At the narrowest point the Isthmus is not four or five miles wide, and many English engineers have assured me they would undertake to open a passage in less than twelve months. Some theorists contend that the currents and conflicting winds of the Corinthian Gulf would neutralize the benefit for sailing vessels; but these must be minor evils compared to the advantage of shortening their route and escaping from the dangers which beset a voyage round Cape Matapan during the stormy seasons of the year.

Corinth in ancient days also became the depôt for the commerce of the Peloponnesus, buying its rich fleeces and other products and selling them again to foreign traders at a large profit. The Isthmian games too, occurring every second year, converted that barren tract into a mine of wealth. Corinth being easy of access from all quarters, strangers flocked to these games in such numbers, that the fair, held simultaneously with the festival, was equalled by no other in the multitude and variety of the traders. Even after the destruction of Corinth, these games retained their prestige, presided over by the Sicyonians. They were revived with increased interest under the Roman restoration, and of their existence during St. Paul's

* Strabo, p. 380.

stay at Corinth, between A.D. 52 and 54, we have abundant testimony by the imagery of his epistles.*

Any one of these sources, taken separately, would have been sufficient to enrich a city; but their union in so limited an area, coupled with the enterprising qualities of its inhabitants, combined to make Corinth not only the wealthiest state of Greece,† but the one most characterized by all the results of wealth. Vast fortunes were accumulated, multitudes of slaves were kept, luxury of every kind was encouraged, and hospitality so freely exercised, that the dangers and snares of Corinth passed into the well-known proverb:

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.‡

The most brilliant period of its history was between the decline of Argos and the rise of Athens; but even after the loss of its maritime power, Corinth maintained its pre-eminence as an important military position. In this form we find it during the Achaian league, when the Romans, provoked by the insolence of some of its citizens, attacked and razed the city to the ground. Its countless treasures first roused amongst them an appreciation of works of art, and were the signal for that species of plunder which has not yet ceased to flow from East to West.

Henceforward, the most interesting aspect of Corinth is connected with St. Paul. Here we find him living with the Roman Jews Aquila and Pris-

* This most interesting subject is well set forth by Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 218, 219, 220.

† The public revenue was greater than that of any other state in Greece.—Strabo, p. 758.

‡ Horat. Ep. I. xvii. 36.

cilla, his "fellow-labourers," tent-making "with his own hands,"* "reasoning" with the Jews in the synagogue—then brought by his own countrymen before the Proconsul Gallio, brother of Seneca—chiding and remonstrating with his converts after he left, for their relapse into the sins and habits of the Corinthians; and finally returning to find them torn by dissensions, following Paul, Cephas, or Apollos, as the humour seized them. This phase of Corinth would well reward the study; but once begun, it would carry us too far, and for to-day we must only be content to regard the ground as much hallowed as it had been profaned.†

Our time being limited, and Helios proving too powerful a foe on this his own territory to admit of our braving the ardour of his rays for any lengthened period, we were forced to commence the descent long before we felt inclined to quit this beautiful scene. Half an hour brought us back to the fountain at the base of the Acrocorinthus, where we were met by a party of old friends from the *Desperate*, who had just arrived from Kalimaki with the intention of joining our ride across the Isthmus. Dimitri having prepared luncheon under the shadow of the mountain and beside the cool spring, full justice was done to the meal, amid mutual descriptions of our wanderings by land and sea since we last saw the *Desperate* at Kalamata.

The situation of the lower Peirene, fed by an underground communication from the spring of that name on the Acrocorinthus, is still a subject

* 1 *Cor.* iv. 12.

† For which details of St. Paul's sojourn, see Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul.*

of controversy, in consequence of the different descriptions of its locality given by Strabo and Pausanias. As Leake justly observes, however, there may have been three sources known at one time by that name—the Peirene on the summit of the hill, this one at its base, and a third on the level below the table-land. It is quite true that the water of this middle fountain is singularly heavy, and undoubtedly to this day is used by the Corinthians chiefly for washing purposes; whilst that of the lower level is excellent for drinking, and is, therefore, more probably the Peirene described by Athenæus, as the lightest water in Greece.*

So noted was Corinth for its wonderful abundance of water, that we meet constant allusion to it, but especially to the Peirene fountain,† in the ancients. The Romans, however, always fastidious on this point, not content with what they found on the spot, induced Hadrian to bring a further supply from the Lake Stymphalus for the large baths erected on the restoration of the city, by means of an aqueduct twenty miles long.

At the base of the Acrocorinthus stood a series of sanctuaries and temples, besides a theatre, noticed by Pausanias, but principally erected by the Romans, and of which no vestige can at present be seen. Of Greek work, the seven pillars of Athena Chalinitis are the only standing memorials; they are, however, amongst the remarkable specimens of architecture in Greece. Fortunately, they have

* Athen. l. ii. c. 5.

† For example, Ἄστυ Πειράνας.—Pind. *Ol.* xiii.; Σεμνὸν ἀμφὶ Πειρήνη ὕδωρ.—Eur. *Med.* 69.

suffered no injury from the recent earthquakes, and offer as singular a proof of the capriciousness of these subterranean shocks, as the arch of Hadrian at Athens, some portions of which, hanging together as if by a thread, still survive earthquakes that have thrown down solidly-built houses.

This temple of Athena has been so fully and frequently described, that it were superfluous here to enter on a minute description. Suffice, then, the passing remark that it is of the earliest known Doric. Leake believes it to date from the seventh century B.C.,* and to have been built by Kypselus, who lived at Corinth in 663 B.C. It was a hexastyle of the second class; and another proof of its antiquity is its dedication to Athena Chalinitis, in connection with the oldest fable of Corinth, that of Bellerophon and Pegasus. The short monolithic shaft and heavy entablature are unmistakable evidences of an early date, and render their preservation of extreme value to the antiquarian; but it must be confessed that to an eye accustomed to the exquisite proportions of the Parthenon, the temple of Corinth can never be satisfactory.

Leake notices the platform of another temple, which he supposes to have been that of Apollo. There are also a series of tombs cut in the rocks underneath the town, worthy of a visit. An amphitheatre is almost the only remnant of Roman work, and lies to the east. But we had no time to bestow on any of these points to-day, and were obliged to confine our observations to an inspection of the

* Leake's *Travels in the Morea,* vol. ii. p. 275. Additional note to c. xxviii.

earthquake ravages, and to some friendly talk with the authorities before starting for the *Desperate*, which we were expected to reach at 5 o'clock.

The distance from Corinth to Kalimaki is said to be nine miles; but it is an easy drive of two hours, over a tolerable road, though not one made for London-built carriages. As a ride, this route is far less interesting than the longer pathway, right through the centre of the Isthmus, which we traversed on a former occasion, three or four years ago. Brigands were at that time as plentiful as in the days of Theseus, and we were preceded by gendarmes, who made a most picturesque effect, beating every bush and brake, in the hope of unearthing some "robber Daveli," but whose utmost efforts only contrived to rouse flocks of red-legged partridges from amidst the pine-trees that entirely cover the Isthmus. To-day we followed the shorter carriage-road, passing out of Corinth by the eastern quarter. Here Pausanias notices various monuments and statues, temples of Bellerophon and Aphrodite, in groves of cypresses; the tomb of Lais, and also of Diogenes, who dwelt here in the midst of the most aristocratic and wealthy suburb of the city. At present all is barrenness and waste, no trees even, except a few scattered pines, being visible in the neighbourhood. For some distance the road follows the line to Cenchreæ, until the village of Hexamili is reached, when it divides in two branches, one leading down to the old harbour and the other continuing in a northerly direction to the Poseidonium and Kalimaki. Pine-trees of small growth are scattered over all this tract, and our

party plucked branches from them for a "fading crown,"* in remembrance of our pleasant ride.

On approaching the height above Kalimaki, we passed close to the Poseidonium, and over some fragments of the Isthmus wall abutting on the temenos of the temple. This wall never followed a straight line, but seems to have stretched obliquely from this point to the Bay of Lechæum. The masonry is so regular that Leake believes the existing remains to belong to the best period; but it is equally probable that defences were used in all ages. Towers occur, too, at different intervals, which possibly were the additions of Justinian, who is stated to have strengthened the fortification by the construction of one hundred and fifty towers. Of the constant use of this defence in subsequent times frequent mention is made, so late even as the Venetian rule, and we find the "remains of the old walls at the Isthmus" stated in the treaty of Carlowitz, 1699, as forming the boundary of the Venetian possessions in the Peninsula.†

But, as at Corinth, so here, we had no leisure to make a minute examination of the ruins, and had to hurry on to the landing-place at Kalimaki, where the boats were already awaiting us. Here was the end of our joyous travels, and here the parting scene from our faithful steeds and their active masters. During the journey a tender affection had sprung up between horse and rider, in virtue of difficulties vanquished and rough ways

* 1 *Cor.* ix. 25.

† Leake's *Travels in the Morea*, note, vol. ii. p. 304.

made smooth; no unpleasant word had been spoken, and we had only to look back on recollections of joyousness, kindness, and geniality. Cordial, therefore, was our leave-taking, as we stroked our trusty horses and bid προσκυνήματα to the hardy Agoyiates. The party intended to set out on their home journey the next morning, but seemed determined, like many a faithless swain, to avoid the villages where they had promised to return and choose partners for life! All volunteered to visit us when next they came to Athens; and to Baba Georgi especially, who had never been to the capital, their project was most attractive.

It was past six o'clock before we reached the *Desperate*, where we were warmly welcomed by Captain Craigie, and, steam being up, no time was lost in starting. The evening was lovely as we glided past Salamis, and the hours passed swiftly, recounting our exploits and listening to the European news, to which we had effectually closed our ears for so many weeks. The pillars of the Peiræus were passed shortly after ten: carriages were ready, and in less than an hour we drove up to the Legation; thus closing one of the most interesting, and, despite all its difficulties, one of the most enjoyable tours that it is possible to conceive.

APPENDICES.

I.

Note on the Firs of Greece. By Professor von Heldreich, Director of the Botanical Garden, Athens.

THREE principal descriptions of Fir are found on the Greek continent. Some botanists believe them to be of distinct species, whilst others consider them only as local varieties of the Silver Fir of Europe, or the *Pinus Abies du Roi* (*Abies pectinata*, DC.).

The following are these three varieties :—

1. *Abies Apollonis, Link,* the most common of all, grows on the greater number of the high mountains of Greece at an elevation of 2,000 to 4,500 feet above the level of the sea ; for instance, on Mount Parnes in Attica, Cythæron, Helicon, Mount Parnassus, Olympia in Thessaly, Mount Delphi in Eubœa, Cyllene, Olenos, Malevo, and Taygetus, in the Peloponnesus. Without doubt, it is the Ἐλάτη ἡ ἄῤῥην of Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* III. 10, 6.

2. *Abies Reginæ Amaliæ, Held.* (Regel's Gartenflora, 1860, p. 313).—This Fir has only been found on the mountains of Central Arcadia, where it forms forests of considerable extent at from 2,700 to 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. This variety is especially remarkable for its peculiarity of pushing forth new shoots and branches where the trunk has been cut. It is probably the Ἐλάτη ἡ θήλεια of Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* III. 7, 1—7. Compare also my article on this Fir in the *Mittheilungen des Central Instituts für Akklimatisation in Deutschland zu Berlin,* 1861, p. 84.

3. *Abies Panachaïca, Held.* (Regel's Gartenflora, 1861, p. 286).—This Fir was found by me on Mount Voidias or Panachaïkon, near Patras. It is of lesser size than the others, its leaves are shorter, and the cones smaller and more cylindrical.

The Cephalonian Fir, *Abies Cephalonica, Loud.*, is also a species very closely resembling the preceding, and especially the *Abies Reginæ Amaliæ ;* perhaps also, like the three others, it is a local variety of the Silver Fir (*Pinus Abies du Roi*). It covers the high region of Mount Olenos, or the Black Mountain of the island of Cephalonia.

TH. VON HELDREICH.

ATHENS, *April* 18, 1864.

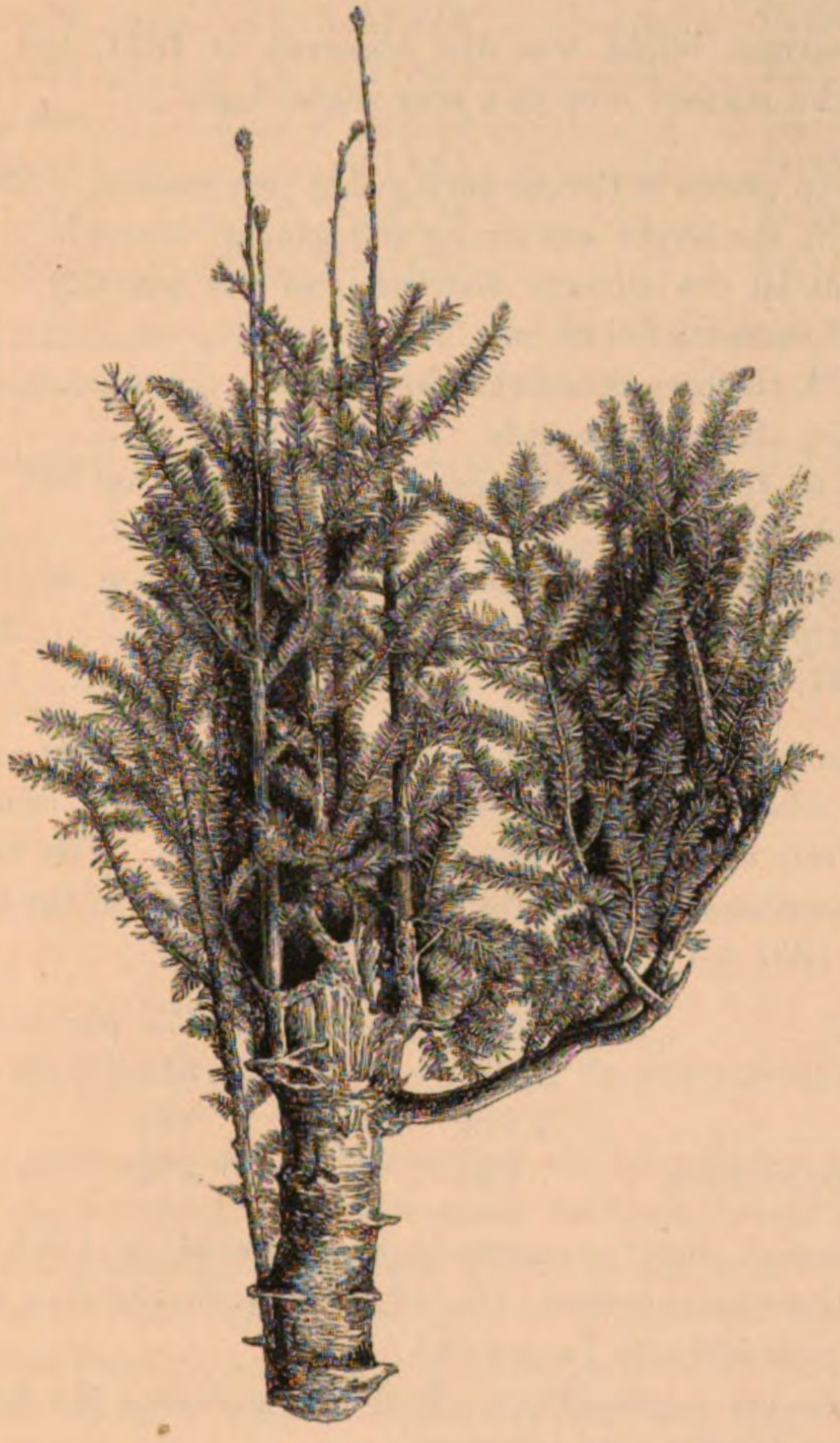
II.

Extract from a Note by the same on the new Arcadian Fir, Abies Reginæ Amaliæ, Held., in *Regel's Gartenflora,* 1860.

"THE Greek foresters, Messrs. Origoni and Balsamaki, first saw this singular tree when passing, on a tour of inspection, near the village of Khrysovitza, about nine miles from Tripolitza. They came to a pine forest extending for eighteen miles in a north-westerly direction across Mount Rhoudia (1,400 feet high), and through the adjacent valleys as far as Alonistena and Magouliana. Their surprise became great at observing the countless branches that had been lopped off at every variety of size and height (doubtless by the neighbouring villagers for their own use), and which had again thrown forth new crests around the broken parts. In some instances three and four new shoots sprung up, the stems having the thickness of a tree ; but, generally speaking, when the central branch had been cut away, not only a new top-shoot had grown, but two or three upright branches rose anew, giving a chandelier-form to the tree, often of very symmetrical proportions. . . . . .

"These firs, in favourable localities, attain the height of 55 feet, the trunk having a diameter of 2 or 3 feet. In those trees which have been deprived of their original top-shoots, the new crests and

upright shoots often grow to 18 or 20 feet, whilst their lower part is $1\frac{1}{4}$ foot thick. These new shoots, however, are of very unequal growth, and one of the number usually develops itself to the prejudice of the others. . . . . H. M. Queen Amalia sent



one of her gardeners, M. Bayer, to Arcadia to examine this fir, and he fully confirmed the report of the foresters, bringing back with him to Athens ripe seeds and several small trees showing this peculiarity. . . . . ."

III.

THE currant blight was first observed in 1851, but it only affected the currant crop to a very slight degree.

	Tons.
The crop grown in Greece during that year reached ...	26,128
In 1852, the blight was strong and general throughout all the currant districts, and the quantity of currants fell to	7,554
In 1853, the crop diminished to	2,817
In 1854, the crop was only	3,099
In 1855, the crop increased by the partial use of sulphur to	4,350
In 1856, the crop increased by the application of sulphur to	18,850
In 1857, the the crop was	18,704

But it would have reached a much larger quantity that year, had not the whole crop been more or less damaged by rain, which also entirely destroyed a great proportion of it. The following are the quantities produced in the currant districts of the Peloponnesus in 1857 :—

Patras	Tons	4,315,	average price	47*s.*	per cwt.,	f. o. b.
Vostitza	„	3,990	„	53*s.*	„	„
Gulf	„	2,414	„	45*s.*	„	„
Inferior Growth	„	7,985	„	43*s.*	„	„

The import duty on currants was lowered, in 1845, by the British Government, from 22*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. to 15*s.* 9*d.*; and subsequently, in 1860, to 7*s.* per cwt.

The amount imported into England, including the growth of the Ionian Islands, was as follows :—

	IMPORTED. Tons.	CONSUMED. Tons.
1851	35,055	22,738
1852	17,356	18,154
1853	13,360	9,315
1854	6,112	8,562

	IMPORTED. Tons.	CONSUMED. Tons.
1855	8,187	7,817
1856	17,590	13,308
1857	19,943	12,808
1858	29,119	19,270
1859	27,893	24,124
1860	37,770	32,126
1861	41,637	31,338
1862	43,754	35,065
1863	46,022	38,415

Besides which, from 4,000 to 5,000 tons have been yearly exported from England to our colonies and to other countries.

The currant crop of the Morea in 1858 reached 24,917 tons.
" " 1859 " 25,617 "
" " 1860 " 37,366 "
" " 1861 " 32,660 "
" " 1862 " 35,973 "

IV.

The Earthquake at Ægium (Vostitza), December 26th, 1861.

No earthquake which has visited Greece during the 19th century can be called of the first order, no shock having produced such dreadful results, for example, as that of Lisbon in 1755, or of Mendoza in 1861. The earthquakes of Hellas have been of the second and third class, as may be inferred from the fact, that all houses solidly built after European fashion, have escaped serious damage and have only been partially injured. Until within these last ten years, no trustworthy report of these physical phenomena existed, owing to the absence of scientific observations.

Without entering on the subject of earthquakes in the East, or even in Greece generally, we shall here merely refer to those special to the northern coast of the Peloponnesus and the Isthmus of Corinth. With the assistance of Al. Perrey and A. Mallet's

lists, my large and complete catalogue gives the following table :—

Year.	
B. C. 373.	The destruction of Helike and Bura.
A.D. 23.	The ruin of Ægium.
77.	The ruin of Corinth and other places.
522.	Great earthquake at Corinth.
551.	The greatest of all known catastrophes: Patras, Naupactos, Corinth, and other towns (doubtless Ægium as well), laid waste.
1714.	Patras and different towns suffered in July and September.
1742.	Zacholi greatly injured.
1753.	Zacholi greatly injured.
1785.	Patras, &c.
1817.	August 23.—Great earthquake at Ægium (Vostitza).
1842.	April 18.—At Patras and remainder of the Peloponnesus.
1853.	August 18.—The effects of the earthquake at Thebes felt in the Peloponnesus.
1858.	February 21.—Great earthquake at Corinth.
1861.	December 26.—Great earthquake in Achaia and Roumelia.

If we add the partial destruction of Hydra (1847), we shall have noticed the principal earthquakes which have occurred in the Peloponnesus. The greatest loss of human life took place in 1817 at Vostitza, 1853 at Thebes, and 1858 at Corinth, whilst the number of killed at Ægium in 1861 scarcely amounted to twelve. The destruction of houses was largest in 1817 at Ægium, and 1853 at Thebes, and was trifling in the earthquake of 1861, when only eight or ten houses were thrown down in Galaxadi. Ægium itself suffered more from cracks and fissures than from actual loss in houses. As in 1817, so also in 1861, the Corinthian Gulf was dangerously agitated by three or four large earthquake-waves.

Compared with the enormous loss of life and property caused by the earthquakes of Lisbon (1755), Calabria (1783), Riobamba (1794), Lima (1746), Conception (1835), S. Salvador (1854), Cumana (1797), Caracas (1812), Mendoza (1861), and many others, the effects of the Greek earthquakes in this century are insignificant. No single shock has ever killed more than 100 human beings, nor has any large building been destroyed. The ancient ruins of this country hold together firmly enough to resist these shocks, and the modern habitations of the towns and villages often fall down more completely after some hours' rain, than when shaken by subterraneous influence.

The last earthquake at Vostitza and in the province of Achaia, was interesting for the purposes of science, on account of the phenomena accompanying it, and which I had the opportunity of examining on the spot itself. At the time of the earthquake I happened to be at Kalamaki, on the Isthmus of Corinth, and I was thus an eye-witness of the partial sinking of the mole there, of the fissures made in the ground, and the formation of small sand-craters in these fissures, which,—as in the case of Calabria—also occurred at the same period on a larger scale at Ægium. Three weeks after the earthquake, I travelled through Achaia and Roumelia, by command of her Majesty Queen Amalia, for the purpose of observing in every particular the effects of the catastrophe. This journey (January, 1862), and later examinations by writing, have led to the following results :—

1. Frequent, but feeble, subterranean shocks had been felt at Ægium from April 1861, all through the summer. The great earthquake, however, did not take place until December 26, at a quarter before 9 a.m. Simultaneously, or immediately after the event, the Achaian and Roumelian coasts were struck, with varying violence, by several large waves. In the Gulf of Krissa the sea rose high, inundating Stea, Galaxidi, and Vytoinitza,* whilst the coast east of Ægium, in the territory of ancient Helike, was so completely submerged, that the water nearly reached the ruins of Valymitika—a village which had been thrown down by the shock.

2. The earthquake was felt at Zante, through the entire northern portion of the Peloponnesus, as also in Tripolitza,

* The port of the village situated farther inland.

Roumelia, Bœotia, Attica Eubœa, and in the Sporadic island of Skyros. The centre of the movement lay beneath the sea east of Ægium.

3. East of Ægium, the plain, which has been formed of the alluvium deposited by the mountain streams as far as Diakophtitika, was sunk one or two metres by the earthquake. At the same time a fissure was opened, 13,000 metres in length, separating this plain from the foot of the mountain-range. On the left side of this fissure, thousands of large and small crevasses were split, in which—consequent on the uneven pressure of the sinking mass—sand, stones, and water, were forced up.

4. These fissures and sand-craters were completely destitute of a volcanic character, and resembled those created by the earthquake of Calabria in 1783.

5. From Temenion to Diakophtitika, the sea reduced the extent of beach, varying in breadth from 50 to 250 metres. In the following January the tops of shrubs and small trees still appeared above water. No alteration in the coast-line, however, is visible in Ægium, Galaxidi, or Stea.

6. The places which suffered most were Galaxidi, Stea, Vytoinitza, Ægium, and seven or eight villages near Ægium. At Amphissa, Delphi, and Corinth, the injury was slight; whilst in Megara, the Peiræus, and Athens, the shock only resembled that of an ordinary earthquake.

7. For three weeks previous to the 26th December, the atmosphere was remarkably changeable, and the barometer showed immense variations. The last storm of rain was during the night of December 24–25, the barometer being very low. At the period of the great shock, the weather, at least on the Isthmus, was calm and mild, but it changed towards evening; and on December 27 and 28, storm and rain returned.

8. Extraordinary results, either direct or indirect, are as follows:—A steamer passing the Straits of Rhion felt the earthquake violently. Probably this was the same shock which cut in two the telegraphic wire between Rhion and Anti-Rhion. At Delphi—as in olden times—large masses of rock were hurled down, and a colossal block tore up the western end of the Stadium. During my stay in Delphi (January 18, 1862, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.m.), a dreadful fall of rock occurred from a height of 1,800

feet, above the Castalian spring. Fortunately it touched neither men nor dwellings. On that day the shocks were very feeble, but the barometer was low, accompanied by rain and thunder-storm.

Since December, 1861, no serious earthquakes have taken place in Greece.

The Director of the Observatory in Athens.

J. F. JULIUS SCHMIDT.

ATHENS, *April* 7, 1864.

THE END.

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Wyse, Thomas

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